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THE ENCOMIUM OF GREGORY NAZIANZEN BY NICETAS THE PAPHLAGONIAN

GREEK TEXT EDITED AND TRANSLATED

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INTRODUCTION

Nicetas the Paphlagonian, also called the « rhetor », the « philosopher », « Nicetas David », had his *floruit* in the first half of the tenth century [1]. He was a student and friend of Arethas of Caesarea, becoming bitterly involved, like his teacher, in the controversy over Leo VI's fourth marriage. Nicetas, however, is most famous as the prolific author of panegyrics on the saints, more than fifty of which are presently known [2]. In this regard, he stands out as the most eloquent and productive of Byzantine hagiographers before the time of Symeon Metaphrastes.

Nicetas' encomium of Gregory Nazianzen (*BHG*³ 725), which I have edited, has long been available in Migne, *PG* 105. 439-488, but only in a Latin translation by François Combefis [3]. Hence the need for an edition of the original Greek. The speech cannot be dated precisely.

However, we are fortunate in possessing a letter of Arethas to Nicetas criticizing this speech and making recommendations for its improvement [4]. Since Arethas and Nicetas were no longer on speaking terms after 907 A.D., we can reasonably place the en-

[1] For material on the life of Nicetas the Paphlagonian, his identity, and his published and unpublished works, see: H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich*, Munich, 1959, pp. 548-549; Romilly J. H. Jenkins, « A Note on Nicetas David Paphlago and the *Vita Ignatii* », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965), 241-247 (also found in R. J. H. Jenkins, *Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries*, Variorum Reprints, London, 1970); Patricia Karlin-Hayter, ed., *Vita Euthymii* Brussels, 1970, pp. 217-219; L. G. Westerink, « Nicetas the Paphlagonian on the End of the World » (a paper due to be published in the Laourdas memorial volume).

[2] See Index auctorum in F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd. ed., Brussels, 1957 (= *Subsidia Hagiographica* 8A) and *Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*, Brussels, 1969 (= *Subsidia Hagiographica* 47).

[3] Combefis' translation was originally part of his *Bibliotheca Patrum Concionatoria*, Tom. VI, Paris, 1662, p. 616ff.

[4] L. G. Westerink, ed., *Arethae Scripta Minora*, I, Leipzig, 1968, pp. 267-270.

comium before that date. We might also infer from Arethas' criticism that this work is one of Nicetas' earliest on a hagiographical theme. Certainly, this long, rambling speech is more than twice the length of any of the other panegyrics by Nicetas that have been published to date.

Arethas' criticism

In Arethas' letter to Nicetas, he takes Nicetas to task for the speech's excessive length, repetitiveness, and lack of clarity and proportion. He also points to Nicetas' ungainly use of the *topos* of *synkrisis*. One who reads the speech can hardly deny that Arethas' observations are justified. There is one further criticism that Arethas raises; he objects to a *μίμησις ὕπαιθρος τῶν θεολογικῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν σχημάτων μεταχειρίσεως* [1]. What Arethas means by this can be seen, I think, from the following examples:

1) In his eulogy of Basil, Gregory enumerates the various genres that make up the sum of Basil's writings and in doing so he praises each of them by relating how each serves to deepen his own spiritual insight whenever he reads them:

> *Ὅταν τὴν Ἑξαήμερον αὐτοῦ μεταχειρίζωμαι καὶ διὰ γλώσσης φέρω, μετὰ τοῦ κτίστου γίνομαι, καὶ γινώσκω κτίσεως λόγους, καὶ θαυμάζω τὸν κτίστην πλέον ἢ πρότερον, ὄψει μόνῃ διδασκάλῳ χρώμενος. ὅταν τοῖς Ἀντιρρητικοῖς ἐντύχω λόγοις, τὸ σοδομιτικὸν ὁρῶ πῦρ ... ᾗ τὸν Χαλάνης πύργον... · ὅταν τοῖς περὶ Πνεύματος, εὑρίσκω θεόν, ὃν ἔχω, καὶ παρρησιάζομαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ... · ὅταν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐξηγήσεσιν, ... πείθομαι μὴ μέχρι τοῦ γράμματος ἵστασθαι, μηδὲ βλέπειν τὰ ἄνω μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ περαιτέρω διαβαίνειν ... · ὅταν ἠθικοῖς λόγοις καὶ πρακτικοῖς, καθαίρομαι ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ...* (M. 36. 585A-C).

If we turn to chapter 26 of Nicetas' encomium of Gregory, we find Nicetas using this very same device to praise the writings of Gregory.

2) Our second example also comes from Gregory's eulogy of Basil and that is the series of *synkriseis* in which Basil is shown to have rivaled and even surpassed practically every major figure of the Old Testament: Adam, Enos, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Job, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Samuel, David, Solomon, Elijah, Elisha, the Machabees. This takes up three columns in the Migne text (M.36.589D-596D) and is followed by comparisons with New

[1] Ibid., p. 270.

Testament personalities: John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, John the Evangelist (M.36.596D-598C). As for Nicetas, though his comparisons of Gregory with the great heroes of the Old and New Testaments are not set forth in one continuous passage (Nicetas distributes them throughout his speech), nevertheless they are just as numerous and all-inclusive [1]. In both these sets of comparisons, too, one can discern a common enthusiasm for drawing point for point resemblances. Thus Gregory praises Basil because, like Jacob, he also possessed a *κλίμακα* (i.e. one made of virtues), a *στήλην* (i.e. a *stele* that contained the names of the heterodox). Like Jacob, Basil was engaged in a *πάλη* (not against God, but for God); he possessed such skill as a shepherd that he bred more spotted than unspotted sheep; he spoke forth a *εὐλογία* (M.36.592D-593A). Note how for each event in Jacob's life Gregory discovers some correspondence in that of Basil's. Accordingly, since Gregory had previously referred to Jacob's famous blessing of his descendants on his deathbed, a *εὐλογία* must also be attributed to Basil; in the latter's case, it is the preaching of Christianity. Note further how forced this matching can be, especially where real, physical entities (e.g. Jacob's ladder) have only metaphorical or spiritual equivalents (e.g. Basil's ladder of virtues). This same propensity for detail, this same ingenuity in manufacturing resemblances is found in Nicetas' handling of *synkrisis*. A case in point is Nicetas' extended comparison of Gregory with Moses (chapter 20), in the course of which every aspect of Moses' story is given its equivalent in Gregory's experience. As Moses was exposed to the river, Gregory was exposed to the dangers of the world. Moses married a woman; Gregory married wisdom. Moses was given a staff by God, while Gregory indeed was a staff sent by God.

3) In Gregory's panegyric on Cyprian, he uses the word *λόγος* in a paronomasia to help convey the latter's worthiness to be eulogized: *λόγος* (= a speech), *τὸ πάντων οἰκειότατον τοῖς Λόγου θεραπευταῖς· εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἄθλων καὶ λόγων* (= doctrine) *ἄξιον, τοῦ Λόγου τὸ δῶρον* (M. 35.1193 A-B) [2]. Nicetas has a similar pun on *λόγος* to express much the same idea with respect to Gregory:

[1] In order of their appearance, the following are compared by Nicetas with Gregory: Samuel, John the Baptist, Peter, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Stephen, Job, Moses, Aaron, Solomon and David (briefly, in passing), Joshua, Solomon, Jonas, Daniel and the Three Young Men, Paul, Enoch and Elijah. At ch. 14, l. 4-12 Gregory is even compared with Jesus.

[2] Gregory expresses a modified version of this idea at the outset of his Funeral Oration on his Brother: *οὔτε ἐπαινεσόμεθα πέρα τοῦ μέτρου καὶ πρέποντος, καίτοι γε δῶρον φίλον καὶ οἰκειότατον, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, τῷ λογίῳ λόγος καὶ τῷ διαφερόντως ἀγαπήσαντι τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους ἡ εὐφημία* (M. 35.756B). Compare, too, the opening of the Encomium of Basil, where, speaking of the value of *οἱ λόγοι*, Gregory affirms: *χρέος δέ, εἴπερ ἄλλο τι, τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τά τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τὸν λόγον* (M. 36.496A).

ὅτι μάλιστα πρέπων ὁ λόγος (= this speech) *τῷ λογιωτάτῳ ... νομοθέτῃ λογιότητος ... ἀλλ' ὅτι Λόγῳ θεοῦ γεννηθείς τε καὶ καταρτισθεὶς ἐκεῖνος τῷ ζῶντι θεῷ Λόγῳ προσῳκείωται, πῶς οὐκ εὐλογώτατον ἂν εἴη ... τῆς ἐκ τῶν λόγων αὐτὸν τιμῆς καταξιοῦσθαι; ... δίκαιον ἅμα καὶ ὅσιον τὸν ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις ... τῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Λόγου κακοπαθείας ὑπερβαλλόντως ἀντισχόμενον καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἐπαίνοις ὡς ἄνθεσι καθωραΐζεσθαι* (chapter 1, § 1).

4) The last example I would like to present is a kind of metonymy whereby the orator claims that in praising his subject he will also be eulogizing a particular virtue or pursuit because the two are so intimately linked together. Thus Gregory opens his encomium of Athanasius with the following words: *Ἀθανάσιον ἐπαινῶν, ἀρετὴν ἐπαινέσομαι. ταὐτὸν γὰρ ἐκεῖνόν τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐπαινέσαι, ὅτι πᾶσαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ συλλαβὼν εἶχε τὴν ἀρετήν ... ἀρετὴν δὲ ἐπαινῶν, θεὸν ἐπαινέσομαι, παρ' οὗ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡ ἀρετή* (M.35.1081A-1084A). Likewise Gregory begins his encomium of the philosopher Hero with the same figure, when he says, *τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐπαινέσομαι*, and then proceeds to explain that in doing so *τιμητέον φιλοσοφίαν* (M.35.1197A). The philosopher and philosophy cannot be separated. Nicetas adopts this figure from Gregory, and, in fact, it is well suited to his subject. For in his panegyric of Gregory, Nicetas is honoring the one saint besides John the Evangelist to have been distinguished by the surname *θεολόγος*. Hence Nicetas (ever ready, as has been seen in the previous examples, to expand upon a borrowed figure) devotes lines 19 to 64 of his exordium to the task of showing that Gregory and theology are one and the same and that it is impossible to praise one without praising the other.

The four preceding examples of *schemata* occurring in the works of Gregory Nazianzen as well as in Nicetas' panegyric on that saint are by no means intended to illustrate the fact that both Gregory and Nicetas employed the same figures of thought and of speech in their writings. This could have been assumed *a priori*. For it was the practice of almost all Greek rhetoricians from the time of Gorgias down to the fall of the Byzantine Empire to inundate their speeches with alliterations, *isokola*, antitheses, paronomasiae, oxymora, metonymies, *synkriseis*, and so forth; and therefore one would naturally expect Gregory and Nicetas to have done the same, as indeed they have. Rather, the examples cited tell us not that Nicetas employed the same kinds of figures as Gregory, but that he took over certain specific adaptations of the figures from Gregory's writings and used them in similar contexts for similar purposes. The examples themselves make clear what I mean. The point of example three, for instance, is not to show that paronomasia is to be found in both orators. What is significant is that the same word, *λόγος*, was the object of a wordplay in both authors and, furthermore, that this wordplay served to express the very same idea: one who had served *τὸν Λόγον* by his *λόγοις* (= doctrine) was most worthy of a *λόγου* (= eulogy). It is only when we examine the concrete application of a

figure such as the use of paronomasia in this example that we can appreciate the real dependence of Nicetas upon Gregory and the kind of imitation of which Arethas was so critical.

Again, in the second example given above, the presence of *synkrisis* as such does not establish Nicetas as an imitator of Gregory's style. As is well known, this *schema* was a *sine qua non* of encomiastic oratory. The fact that Gregory was Nicetas' literary model here, however, is revealed by the universal scope that is common to the two series of comparisons : the inclusion of almost all the principal figures of the Old and New Testaments and the tendency toward detailed, point for point comparisons that strain the author's ingenuity and the modern reader's credibility.

As for the fourth example, here, too, it is not simply a question of the subject of the encomium being equated with some appropriate or relevant virtue or pursuit. Rather, coming at the beginning of each speech as it does, the identification of human subject with appropriate virtue serves to define the thrust and orientation of the entire encomium, setting forth the particular aspect under which the subject will be praised and introducing, as it were, the subtopic of the speech, the virtue referred to. In sum, Nicetas is an imitator of Gregory, a very studious one indeed. This imitation, however, consists neither in verbatim borrowings from his model (though, as noted in the apparatus, there are verbal allusions to Gregory's works) nor in employing stylistic devices that were the common stock of all Greek rhetoricians. It is an imitation, as we have shown, of specific applications of *schemata* or figures to specific contexts for similar ends.

From the preceding examples of rhetorical devices taken over by Nicetas from the writings of Gregory Nazianzen, one would suppose a close familiarity on Nicetas' part with the works of his subject. This supposition is confirmed, in fact, by the presence throughout the encomium of reminiscences from Gregory's orations as well as by a verbatim quotation from one of Gregory's letters [1]. Moreover, the depth of this familiarity is further attested, if, as is most probable, our Nicetas is the exegete responsible for the *Paraphrasis carminum arcanorum S. Gregorii Naz.* (M.38.681-842) [2].

PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF NICETAS' NARRATION

Now given Nicetas' extensive familiarity with Gregory's works and given the fact that a rich abundance of autobiographical information

[1] See the apparatus at 5.8, 5.20, 6.5, 6.8, 6.17, 7.3, 8.6, 10.3, 22.12, 28.6.

[2] See BECK, pp. 565-566. For the identification of Nicetas the Paphlagonian with Nicetas David, see Jenkins' article cited above (p. 7, note 1).

is contained not only in Gregory's letters but in his orations and poems as well [1], there can be no doubt that Gregory's writings were a principal source, if not the principal one, for Nicetas' narration of the events of his subject's life. Indeed Nicetas admits his dependence on this source several times in the course of the panegyric. For example, in describing Gregory's ascetic way of life in the remote regions of Pontus, Nicetas remarks : «And this was the fruit of his solitary quietude, as his own words about himself have bidden me to relate without exaggeration or depreciation » (chapter 8, l. 3-5). Again, when Nicetas notes that following Gregory's self-imposed flight from the world and his subsequent return to Nazianzus, Gregory *τὰς αἰτίας τῆς εἰς τὸν Πόντον φυγῆς ἀπολογούμενος ποιεῖται φανεράς* (chapter 8, l. 52-53), he must be referring to some published work of Gregory's which he himself has seen. This was, of course, Gregory's apologia for his flight (M.35.408-513), as is proved by the verbal allusion to this speech in Nicetas' subsequent words (l. 53-55).

A last example comes from a point half way through the encomium where Nicetas expresses the fear that the audience might deem his speech to be already too drawn out and acknowledges the superiority of Gregory's words to his own in rendering an account of Gregory's life : «How would I not be judged to be wronging my audience exceedingly, when I need only his [Gregory's] voice and mind to present the largest number of details briefly ? For just as the struggle carried out so nobly and courageously was his, so, too, was the noble presentation of the struggle by means of the nobility of his rhetoric » (ch. 16, l. 8-13) [2]. It is clear, then, not only that Gregory's writings were known to Nicetas but also that they were actually used by him as a source for his account of the events of Gregory's life. This conclusion is based on the evidence for Nicetas' extensive acquaintance with Gregory's works in general as well as on specific statements made by Nicetas in the course of this encomium.

[1] Especially, Gregory's *Carmen de vita sua* (M.37.1029-1166), the Funeral Oration on his Brother (M.35.756-788), the Funeral Oration on his Father (M.35.985-1044), the Encomium of Basil (M.36.493-605), the Apology for his Flight (M.35.408-513), the Oration on Himself, after his Return from Flight (M.35.828-832), the Apology to his Father (M.35.820-825), the Oration to his Father (M.35.844-849), his Last Farewell (M.36.457-492). See *BHG* 730a, 286, 714, 245, 730c, t, u, v, b ; *Auctar.* 730x.

[2] One further reference by Nicetas to his use of Gregory's writings is at ch. 7, l. 5.

Other sources?

What about other sources that Nicetas might have used for the life of Gregory? At ch. 2, l. 2-4, to be sure, Nicetas indicates that in his own days there existed numerous works detailing Gregory's biography. Unfortunately, however, he says no more than this. No authors are named, nor does he inform us as to whether or not he himself consulted any of these works. Any attempt to investigate this problem of sources, moreover, is frustrated by the fact that most of the material that was accessible to Nicetas, whether he actually used it or not, is no longer extant. In fact, the panegyric of Gregory Nazianzen by Gregory the Presbyter (*BHG*³ 723) is the only biographical source antedating Nicetas that has survived to the present time and has been edited and published (M.35.241-305) [1]. It dates from the sixth or seventh century and was available everywhere in Nicetas' days. Hence our investigation must perforce be limited to a consideration of the question of Nicetas' possible use of Gregory the Presbyter's oration.

Before comparing Nicetas' treatment of Gregory's biography with that of Gregory the Presbyter's, it should be noted that Gregory the Presbyter, faced with an utter dearth of works about his subject, was forced to rely exclusively on Gregory Nazianzen's writings. He states this himself toward the beginning of his *laudatio*: *μηδέ τις τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἡμῖν γεγραφὼς καταλέλοιπεν· ἀλλὰ σποράδην ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ συλλέξας λόγων τὰ κατ' αὐτόν, μιμοῦμαι τοὺς λιθολόγους, οἳ κατὰ σμικρὸν τὰς ψηφῖδας συνηθροικότες εἰς μίαν οἴκου συμπλήρωσιν ἅπαντας συναρμόζουσιν* (M.35.245B). Now, if we recall the fact that Gregory Nazianzen's writings were a principal source for Nicetas as well, we see the need to exclude, without exception, as evidence for Nicetas' use of Gregory the Presbyter, any resemblances between them that can be attributed to their independent consultation of Gregory Nazianzen's writings. This caution applies to verbal similarities as well as to any agreement with respect to the general outline of events of their subject's life.

Given these restrictions, I was able to discover only four instances where Gregory the Presbyter's panegyric might possibly (and I emphasize the word *possibly*) have influenced Nicetas:

[1] For a complete listing of the extant sources for Gregory's biography, see *BHG*³, I, pp. 235-239 and *Auctarium*, pp. 80-81.

1) Towards the opening of his speech Gregory the Presbyter avails himself of one of epideictic oratory's standard *topoi*, a consideration of his subject's native land or city. Speaking of Nazianzus, he says, *τοσούτῳ περιφανεστέρα γέγονεν ἐξ ἐκείνου* [*Γρηγορίου*], *ὡς μέχρι τερμάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης δι' ἐκεῖνον γνωρίζεσθαι* (M. 35. 245C), and he then goes on to maintain that not even Pella was more renowned because of Alexander. With this might be compared Nicetas' handling of the same *topos* at ch. 2, l. 5-12. There Nicetas makes the point that Gregory, like Christ, did not derive his renown from his native city but rather his native city has become famous « to the ends of the earth » because of Gregory. While the concept expressed by Nicetas does resemble the quotation from Gregory the Presbyter cited above, we must be careful about according too much weight to a correspondence that may well be the result of the independent adoption of a *locus communis* on the part of each encomiast [1]. Further, it should be pointed out that except for the words *μέχρι τερμάτων τῆς γῆς* (*οἰκουμένης* in Gregory the Presbyter) Nicetas' text shows no verbal similarity at all to Gregory the Presbyter's.

2) In Gregory the Presbyter's long narrative of the friendship between Gregory and Basil during their student days in Athens, I found one instance of a verbal resemblance between his account and Nicetas'. Referring to Basil's journey to Athens, Gregory the Presbyter tells us that Basil came to Athens like Gregory *τῆς ἴσης χάριν παιδεύσεως* (M.35.252B). Now precisely this phrase occurs at ch. 3, l. 6, of Nicetas' encomium, where he too recalls those student days. On the other hand, the fact that this phrase is so short and that therefore its appearance in both encomia is more likely to have come about by chance prevents our drawing any firm conclusion from it with regard to Nicetas' use of Gregory the Presbyter.

3) Upon Gregory's entrance into Constantinople he is described by Gregory the Presbyter as being *ὕλης μὲν ἁπάσης καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ πλούτου ἄπορος, ἀλλὰ πνεύματος πλήρης* (M.35.276B). In other words, the saint neither possesses nor relies on worldly goods but solely upon spiritual ones. This same theme, though in a much expanded form and with no verbal echoes, is used by Nicetas in his description of Gregory's arrival (ch. 14, l. 13-23). Certainly, the theme does not appear at this point in Gregory's *Carmen de vita sua* and could have been suggested to Nicetas by Gregory the Presbyter's account. Again, however, the evidence is hardly incontestable.

4) Finally, when Gregory does enter Constantinople, we are told by Gregory the Presbyter that he was received *παρὰ συγγενῶν καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν* (M.35.276B), a noteworthy amplification on *συγγενῶν*. Narrating this same event, Nicetas has Gregory welcomed

[1] Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any parallels which would prove that we have a *locus communis* here. Cf. *Rom.* 10, 18 (*Ps.* 19, 5).

παρά τισι τῶν οἰκείων κατὰ σῶμα, οἰκείων κατὰ πνεῦμα (ch. 14, l. 26-27).

The four correspondences presented above, while allowing for the possibility that Nicetas relied to some extent on the work of Gregory the Presbyter, are far from conclusive. The very paucity of such similarities does indicate, however, that even if Nicetas made use of his predecessor that use was quite limited, providing Nicetas with inspiration here and there (e.g. the theme of the hero's native city deriving its fame from the hero rather than the other way around and the theme of material versus spiritual goods). The verbal reminiscences, if one could be certain that they are such, are actually so few in number and brief in extent that they might more readily be explained as resulting from an unconscious recollection on Nicetas' part rather than from a deliberate imitation of Gregory the Presbyter [1]. Certainly, we must stress that Nicetas had no need of Gregory the Prebyter's *laudatio*. For the writings of Gregory Nazianzen himself provided more than enough biographical material (as well as rhetorical *schemata*), especially for an encomiast who frequently telescoped or omitted incidents from his subject's life [2]. This last point would be true, incidentally, for those other possible sources which were available to Nicetas but cannot be examined today.

The present edition

In preparing my edition, I have utilized microfilm reproductions of the only two Greek mss. containing Nicetas' encomium of Gregory Nazianzen that have so far come to light : Cod. Paris. Gr. 153,

[1] There remains the possibility, of course, that Nicetas drew upon Gregory the Presbyter through an intervening source.

[2] For example, Nicetas does not relate Gregory's near shipwreck on his way to Athens and the vow which his miraculous escape gave rise to ; he does not mention the promise Gregory made at his baptism never to take an oath ; as for the whole scandalous episode involving the treachery of Maximus the Cynic, Nicetas ignores it but for one passing reference (ch. 18, l. 24-26). On the other hand, Nicetas telescopes Gregory's many retreats into the wilderness by dealing with this topic only once ; likewise, he synthesizes the two separate events of Gregory's initial entrance into the metropolitan church accompanied by the emperor and of his subsequent enthronement into a single episode.

ff. 167-189v, (**A**), and Cod. Paris. Gr. 1180, ff. 141-172, (**B**), the former dating from the twelfth century, the latter from the tenth [1]. As for Combefis' Latin version of this encomium, it is of no value for constituting the text, since it is clearly a translation of B [2].

A and B are mutually independent witnesses. That A does not derive from B is proved by the presence in B of numerous significant errors, including large lacunae due to homoeoteleuton, which do not appear in A [3]. On the other hand, A shows at least fifteen errors of omission not shared by B and this is sufficient evidence that the former cannot be the source of the latter [4]. In choosing between variants of practically identical value, especially where the difference between them is that between two synonyms or is the result of a slight change in word order, in such cases where sense, grammar, style are of no assistance to the textual critic, I have consistently given preference to the reading of B over that of A [5]. My reason is simply that, as a whole, B's record for correct readings is appreciably better than A's.

[1] See F. Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris: Inventaire hagiographique*, Brussels, 1968 (= *Subsidia Hagiographica* 44), p. 5 and pp. 130-131, as well as Hagiographi Bollandiani et Henricus Omont, *Catalogus Codicum Hagiogr. Graecorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Parisiensis*, Brussels, 1896 (= *Subsidia Hagiographica* 5), p. 2 and pp. 80-83.

[2] Combefis (*Bibliotheca Patrum Concionatoria*, Tom. VI, p. 616) notes that his translation of Nicetas' encomium of Gregory Nazianzen is based on a Greek codex of Cardinal Mazarin. We know that over 229 Greek mss. belonging to this same Cardinal Mazarin ultimately became part of what is today the Bibliothèque nationale (see Henri Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, 1898, p. xx). Indeed Cod. Par. Gr. 1180, our B, has been identified with Cod. Mazarin 64. For the contents of the latter ms. had been outlined by Bernard Montfaucon (*Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum Nova*, Vol. II, Paris, 1739, p. 1314) and they correspond almost perfectly with those of B, both as regards the specific panegyrics listed and the sequence in which they occur. This identification is confirmed, moreover, by the fact that of eighteen panegyrics of Nicetas published by Combefis from the Mazarin codex all of them are found in B (see B. Latyšev, « Ad Nicetae David Paphlagonis laudationes ss. apostolorum », *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences*, 6th Series, Vol. 10, 1916, p. 1505).

[3] See especially 5.23, 6.26, 10.4, 12.4, 12.10, 14.3, 16.3, 16.15, 17.6.

[4] For A's significant errors of omission, see: 1.10, 2.1, 5.13, 5.28, 6.10, 11.14, 13.6, 15.6, 16.13, 18.5, 20.36, 23.7, 24.6, 27.2, 28.5.

[5] See, for example, 4.2, 4.3, 5.2, 5.11, 10.16, 11.6, 11.12, 13.3, 16.21, 16.22, 17.25, 19.6.

The apparatus is positive, and I have therefore recorded all the variant readings of A and B, with the following exceptions :

1) Errors in spelling resulting from the change in the pronunciation of Greek since classical times : a) iotacism (e.g. *μιτρικῆς* for *μητρικῆς*, *ἐξάληψιν* for *ἐξάλειψιν*) ; b) the pronunciation of *αι* as *ε* (e.g. *βεβεοῖ* for *βεβαιοῖ*, *σύναισιν* for *σύνεσιν*) ; c) the pronunciation of *ω* as *ο* (e.g. *λογιώτητος* for *λογιότητος*, *φοτοχυσιῶν* for *φωτοχυσιῶν*). But even these errors have been noted where they result in words or grammatical forms with different meanings (e.g. ch. 17. l. 21 *ἑταίρων* / *ἑτέρων* ; ch. *ὄντως* / *ὄντος*).

2) Errors in accents, breathings, elisions.

3) Variants resulting from the presence or absence of the *ν ἐφελκυστικόν*.

4) Errors resulting from dittography.

My abbreviations for scriptural references are those used in *A Greek-English Lexicon* by Liddell, Scott, Jones.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

(listed by chapter & line number)

Νικήτα τοῦ Παφλαγόνος[1]
ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν μέγαν Γρηγόριον
ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὸν θεολόγον

1. Exordium.

Τὸν μέγαν Γρηγόριον ἐπαινέσομαι, καὶ εἰ τῶν ἐπαίνων ὑπέρκειται. δίκαιον γάρ, καὶ οὐ δίκαιον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα πρέπον ὁ λόγος τῷ λογιωτάτῳ καὶ πάσης ἀρίστῳ νομοθέτῃ λογιότητος. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τολμηρὸς ἂν δόξαιμι πολλοῖς, ὡς τοῖς ἀνεφίκτοις ἐγχειρῶν, οὐδ' ὅτι τῆς ἀξίας διαμαρτεῖν ἀνάγκη μὴ ὅτι γε ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐκείνου τοσοῦτον ἀπολειπομένοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς εἰς ἄκρον ἐληλακέναι δοκοῦσι μεγαλοφυΐας, διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν ἐγχείρησιν ἀποκνητέον. μέγα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις καὶ τὸ μετρίως γοῦν περὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως διαλαβεῖν, οὐ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν μόνον τῶν ἔργων διειπεῖν. ἀλλ' ὅτι λόγῳ θεοῦ γεννηθείς τε καὶ καταρτισθεὶς ἐκεῖνος τῷ ζῶντι θεῷ λόγῳ προσῳκείωται, πῶς οὐκ εὐλογώτατον ἂν εἴη κατὰ τὸ ἡμῖν ἐφικτὸν καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν λόγων αὐτὸν τιμῆς καταξιοῦσθαι; ἐπαινείσθω τοιγαροῦν ὅτι δίκαιον ἅμα καὶ ὅσιον τὸν ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις διὰ βίου παντὸς τῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόγου κακοπαθείας ὑπερβαλόντως ἀντισχόμενον καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἐπαίνοις ὡς ἄνθεσι καθωραΐζεσθαι.

Γρηγόριον δὲ λέγω, τὸν τῆς θεαρχικωτάτης ἐπώνυμον θεολογίας, ἤ, ἵν' οἰκειότερον εἴπω, τὴν θεολογίαν αὐτήν. καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ ἀληθινὸν φῶς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν γεγενημένον, σοφία τε ὂν καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις[1]*, οὕτω μᾶλλον ἢ παρωνύμως ἐκ τούτων προσηγόρευται (ἐνεργέστεραι γὰρ αἱ τοιαῦται καὶ*[2] *τοῖς θείοις ἁρμοδιώτεραι θεωνυμίαι, ἐφ' ὧν ἡ οὐσία σύνδρομός ἐστι τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ), οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεῖος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὅλην αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν τῇ ὑπερφυεστάτῃ συγκερασάμενος θεολογίᾳ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀναμαξάμενος*[3] *τῷ νῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ καταληφθεὶς ὅλος ὑπ' αὐτῆς, οἷον αὐτόχρημα θεολογία*

Lemma. — [1] *Νικήτα τοῦ Παφλαγόνος* B : *τοῦ αὐτοῦ* A.
1. — [1] Cf. 1 *Cor.* 1, 30 // [2] *καὶ καί* A // [3] *ἀναμαζάμενος* A

καὶ ἔστι καὶ ὠνόμασται. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν εἰς αὐτὴν εὐθυβόλως ὁ εἰς τοῦτον ἔπαινος ἀνάγοιτο; θεολογίας δὲ ὁ ἔπαινος αὐτῆς ἂν εἴη τῆς τελείας καὶ τοῖς [4] τελείοις λαλουμένης θεαρχικῆς [5] σοφίας. ἧς ἐραστὴς οὗτος ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος φιλοσοφεῖν γενόμενος προελομένων καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐξιχνιάσας καὶ τῶν ἀδήλων αὐτῆς καὶ κρυφίων ἱεροκρυφίως μυσταγωγηθεὶς τὴν γνῶσιν [6], οὕτω νοερῶς καὶ θείως τὸν ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπον κατήρτισται, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν καταρτίζεσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνωτάτω σοφίας δι' ἀκροτάτης γεννώμενον ἀρετῆς· οἱονεὶ γὰρ θεῖον ὄχημα ἢ ὑπερφυὲς ἐκλόχευμα τῷ θεαρχικωτάτῳ λόγῳ δι' ὑπερφυοῦς βίου καὶ λόγου κατεσκεύαστο.

Ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ τῷ ἡλιακῷ σώματι τὴν ὁρατικὴν δύναμιν ἐναπερείδων καὶ τοῦ συγκεκραμένου τούτῳ φωτὸς ἀναγκαίως ὁμοῦ τῇ ὁράσει συνεφάπτεται, οὕτως ὁ τῷ μεγάλῳ Γρηγορίῳ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐπαφιεὶς εἰς εὐφημίαν καὶ τῆς ἐνιδρυμένης αὐτῷ θεολογίας, εἴτουν σοφίας καὶ ἀρετῆς, τῶν ἐπαίνων ἀναντιρρήτως συναντιλαμβάνεται. ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ κατὰ τύπον τῶν ἔξωθεν σοφῶν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μίμησιν ἀτεχνῶς τὴν ἀποστολικήν, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν φιλοτιμίαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν νομοθεσίαν θεωρητικῶς ὁμοῦ καὶ πρακτικῶς ἀσκηθέντα καὶ κατορθωθέντα συμφυῆ τε καὶ οὐσιώδη τρόπον τινὰ πεφήνασι τῷ Γρηγορίῳ· οὐ πολὺ δ' εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ ταῦτά ἐστι Γρηγόριος, ὅλος [7] δι' ὅλου τούτοις συνανακραθεὶς ὡς μόλις ἂν αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ διαιρεῖσθαι δύνασθαι [8]. καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ ἀέριον τουτὶ σῶμα ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς συγκρινόμενον μαρμαρυγαῖς ὅλον τε δι' ὅλου τῆς ἐξαλλομένης ἐκεῖθεν πληρούμενον λαμπρότητος, ἓν φωτὸς πλήρωμα ταῖς ὄψεσι παρίσταται, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οὗτος ταῖς νοεραῖς ταύταις ἀκτῖσι τοῦ μεγάλου τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐνητενικῶς ἡλίου καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀχώρητον ὑπερφυῶς χωρήσας λαμπηδόνα [9] καὶ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀσωμάτῳ συγκερασάμενος οὐσίᾳ, τοσοῦτον τοῦ ῥηθέντος ἀέρος μᾶλλον τῷ οἰκείῳ προσῳκειωμένος δείκνυται φωτί, ὅσον ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὴν ὁρωμένην πρὸς βραχὺ χρόνου μέρος καταλαμφθεὶς ἀκτῖνα τῇ μεταβάσει ταύτης εὐθὺς νυκτὸς καὶ ἀχλύος ἀναπίμπλαται, ὁ δὲ καθάπαξ ταῖς εἰρημέναις προσβαλὼν ἀκτῖσι καὶ ταύτας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δε-

[4] om. A // [5] θεοῦ add. A // [6] Cf. *Ps.* 50, 8 // [7] ὅλως A // [8] om. B // [9] λαμπάδα A

ξιότητι νοῦ καταλαμφθεὶς ὡς υἱὸς φωτὸς νοητοῦ δηλονότι γεγενῆσθαι[10] *μορφωθέντος, εἴτουν σημειωθέντος ἀφράστως ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀδιαίρετος μὲν τοῦ γεννῶντος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μένει, φῶς δὲ νοερὸν καὶ καθαρὸν οὐχ ἑαυτῷ μόνῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς εἰλικρινῶς αὐτῷ προσανέχουσι γίνεται καὶ καθορᾶται.*

Ἐπειδὴ οὖν τοῦτο καλῶς εἴρηται καὶ[11] *πεπίστευται, φέρε δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῶν νοερῶν ἀκτίνων νοεραῖς δραξάμενοι χερσίν (ἀκτίνων τῶν Γρηγορίου μὲν ἐξαλλομένων, οὐρανόθεν δὲ μέχρις ἡμῶν διηκουσῶν), καὶ τῷ μὲν ὕψει τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ σοφίας τὸν λόγον ἐπαφέντες, τῷ βάθει δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς αὐτοῦ θεολογίας τὸν νοῦν προσεσχηκότες, κἀντεῦθεν — ὥσπερ ἐναργῶν ἡμῖν φωταυγιῶν*[12]*, ἤτοι θείων ἐλλάμψεων, συλλεγομένων ἢ ἐλλαμπομένων — τό τε ὕψος καὶ πλάτος τῶν τοῦ θεολόγου καταβλέποντες κατορθωμάτων καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐθυβόλοις νοὸς ὄμμασιν*[13] *ἀνατεινόμενοι, οἰκεῖον αὐτῷ δῶρον καὶ φίλον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν ἐπαίνων προσαγάγωμεν.*

Καί μοι συντεταμένην[14] *ἀκοὴν καὶ διάνοιαν εὐγνώμονα καὶ τῶν κοσμικῶν, ἤτοι σαρκικῶν, ἐνοχλήσεων κεκαθαρμένον ὑπόσχετε τὸν νοῦν, ὅσοι τῶν θεολογικῶν ὕμνων ἀξίως τρυφᾶν ἐπιποθεῖτε· καὶ γὰρ τὸν λόγον ὥσπερ τοῖς ἐξυμνοῦσι γνησίως τὰ καλά, οὕτω δεῖ*[15] *καὶ τοῖς συνετῶς ἐπαΐουσι πολὺ ὠφελῆ καθεστάναι καὶ σωτήριον.*

2. Gregory's Native Land, Family, Birth, Education, Natural Endowments.

Ἃ μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ κάτωθεν, οἷα δὴ σκιαὶ[1] *σώματι, παρέπονται, ὡς οὐ πάνυ τι πρὸς τὸν τῶν προειρημένων ἔπαινον συντείνοντα παρήσειν μοι δοκῶ, ἄλλως τε καὶ πλείοσιν ἤδη λογογραφηθέντα καὶ πᾶσιν ὄντα σαφῆ κἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ λέγωμεν. τίνα δὴ λέγω; ταῦτα· οἷον σεμνότητα πατρίδος, σεμνότητα, οὐχ ἧς ἐκεῖθεν ὁ ἐπαινούμενος μετέσχεν, ἀλλ' ἣ αὐτὸς μᾶλλον τῷ περιόντι μετέδωκε τῆς ἀρετῆς· καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ οὐ διὰ τὴν Βηθλεὲμ ἐπίσημος ὁ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννώμενος Χριστός, τοὐναντίον μὲν οὖν διὰ τοῦτον ἐκείνη περιώνυμος, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ Γρηγόριος οὐ διὰ τὴν Ναζιανζὸν ἀφ' ἧς ὥρμηται γέγονε*

[10] om. A // [11] *τε καί* A // [12] correxi : *φωτανσιῶν* B : *φαντασιῶν* A // [13] *νοὸς ὄμμασιν εὐθυβόλοις* ∼ A // [14] *συντεταμμένην* A // [15] *δέ* B.
2. — [1] om. A

σεμνότερος, ἐκείνη δὲ διὰ τοῦτον [2] ὀνομαστὴ μέχρι τερμάτων γεγένηται τῆς γῆς. γένους λαμπρότητα, οὐ μόνον ὅσης αὐτὸς παρὰ τῶν ἱερῶς φυσάντων δείκνυται κληρονομῶν (καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὄντως οἱ ἱερώτατοι γεννήτορες τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῷ [3] ὑποδείγματα λαμπρότατα), ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσης αὐτοῖς τῷ μεγαλείῳ τῶν πράξεων καὶ περιφανεστάτῳ τῆς εὐγενείας τῶν τρόπων ἀντιδίδωσιν. τρόπον γεννήσεως· μητρικῆς γὰρ εὐχῆς τε καὶ πίστεως, κατὰ τὴν πρόδρομον τοῦ λόγου φωνὴν ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐκ μήτρας Σαμουήλ, καὶ τοῦτον ἔργον ἀναντιρρήτως χρηματίσαι. ἀγωγήν, ἀστείαν καὶ δεξιὰν καὶ οἵαν ἐχρῆν ἀνῆχθαι τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐργαστήριον ἁγιοπρεπέστατον ἐσόμενον. φύσιν, ὀξεῖαν καὶ μεγαλεπήβολον ἐν νέῳ τῷ σώματι· καὶ ψυχῆς τηλικαύτην ἀγχίνοιαν καὶ μεγαλόνοιαν ἡλίκην εὐθὺς ὑποσημαίνειν ἔδει τὸν θεοπρεπὲς τῆς σοφίας κατασκευαζόμενον ἀνάκτορον.

3. Studies Abroad.

Πρὸς τούτοις τὰς ποικίλης [1] παιδείας χάριν [2] μεταβάσεις τε καὶ μεταστάσεις, οἷον τὴν ἀπὸ Ναζιανζοῦ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Καισαρέων, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐκ ταύτης δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὸ μέγα περὶ λόγους τῶν Ἀθηνῶν κράτος, ἐν αἷς Βασιλείῳ τῷ θείῳ τῆς ἴσης χάριν παιδεύσεως ἐπιδεδημηκότι συγγενόμενον οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς μόνον ἑστίας καὶ ἀγωγῆς καὶ διαίτης κεκοινωνηκέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καλλίστων μαθημάτων καὶ ἀρετῆς ἁπάσης ἐν ὁμολόγῳ [3] προθέσει διανοίας καὶ συμψυχίας τρόπῳ τῶν ἴσων αὐτῷ μετεσχηκέναι, ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν ἄρτι σχεδὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑπεραιρομένην, πρὸς ἣν καθάπερ τὴν ἄλλην τῆς γῆς περιουσίαν ὡς βασιλίδα προσφόρως ἀναφέρεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ τότε καὶ τὸ πάντων κράτιστον, τοὺς λόγους, πρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς κρατίστην τῶν πόλεων μεθίστασθαι.

Ἐν τούτοις οὖν τὸν Γρηγόριον τοὺς τῶν ἐπιστημόνων ἀρίστους μετιόντα καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν γραμματικὴν τέχνην καὶ ποιητικὴν ἱκανῶς ἐξησκηκότα, πᾶσαν δὲ ῥητορικὴν ἄκρως ἐκπεπαιδευμένον· καὶ ὅσα μὲν [4] πρὸς τὴν τοῦ λόγου δύναμιν

[2] *δι' αὐτόν* A // [3] *γεννήτορες ἦσαν αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς* B.
3 —[1] *ποικίλους* B // [2] *χάρι* B // [3] *ὀλίγῳ* A // [4] *δέ* B

τε καὶ εὔροιαν χρησιμώτατα κατορθωσάμενον, φιλοσοφίας δὲ οὐχ ὅσον ὀργανικὸν μόνον, ἠθικόν τε καὶ φυσικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσον ὑπερφυέστερόν τε καὶ νοερώτερον ὑψηλότατα κατωπτευκότα καὶ κατανενοηκότα[5] · *παντὸς δὲ μαθήματος καὶ πάσης συνελόντι φάναι σοφίας τῶν θύραθεν*[6] *καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἀπανθισάμενον τὰ κράτιστα καὶ τούτοις ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὑπὲρ νοῦν θεωρίαν παγκάλως προκαταρτισάμενον, οὕτως ὅλην μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀφιερῶσαι καὶ τὸν νοῦν τελείως τῇ τριάδι (τῇ καὶ πρὸ γεννήσεως ἐπισταμένῃ καὶ ἱερὸν ἑαυτῇ θεολόγον προορισαμένῃ), τῇ πατρίδι δὲ καὶ τοῖς πατράσι τὸ ἁγνὸν τοῦτο*[7] *σωμάτιον καὶ τὴν ἁγνοτέραν ἀποδοῦναι ψυχήν.*

4. Gregory's Spiritual Achievements and Baptism.

Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ βουλόμενος διηγείσθω καὶ φιλοσοφείτω, ταῖς εἰσαγωγικαῖς τῶν πράξεων καὶ παρέργοις τοῦ μεγάλου κινήσεσιν οὐ παρέργως τοῦ λόγου τὸ δυνατὸν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, εἴπερ τι[1] *κἂν τούτοις οἷόν τε τῆς ἐκείνου συνέσεως καὶ μεγαλοφυΐας ἐπάξιον*[2] *εἰπεῖν*[3]. *ἡμῖν δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἀλλὰ τῶν κρειττόνων, οὐδὲ τῶν ἔξωθεν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν θεωρουμένων, ἀλλὰ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ εὐαγγελικῶς αὐτῷ διὰ πίστεως κατωρθωμένων ἀρετῆς, ἥπερ εἴρηται, καὶ σοφίας καὶ θεολογίας τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὸν μέγαν*[4] *καὶ θεολόγον ὑμνητέον αὐτόν, ἐπικαλεσαμένοις ἐκεῖνον συλλήπτορα παρεῖναι τοῖς ὕμνοις καὶ τῷ λόγῳ κάμνοντι χεῖρα δεξιὰν ὑποσχεῖν.*

Ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν ὁ θεοπρεπὴς τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν, ὁ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀμίμητος καὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ὑπερφυής, ὁ πάντα μὲν ἐρευνῶν[5] *ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνακρίνων, αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀνακρινόμενος*[6], *ὁ μέγας τῆς οὐρανίου βροντῆς γόνος*[6a], *ὁ χρόνῳ μόνῳ τοῦ πρώτου, τῇ μεγαλοφωνίᾳ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν δογμάτων καὶ ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς τῶν θείων νοημάτων, οἷς ἡ τῆς τριαδικῆς θεαρχίας ὁμοουσιότης λαμπρότερον ἀνωμολόγηται, μηδὲν ἀπολειπόμενος, οἷς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνῳ κατηξίωται*[7]

[5] *κατανεν. καὶ κατωπτ.* ~ A // [6] *θύραθε* B // [7] *τοῦτον* B.

4. — [1] *τις* B // [2] *ἄξιον* A // [3] *διειπεῖν* A // [4] *μέγα* B // [5] Cf. 1 *Cor.* 2, 10 // [6] Ibid. 15 // [6a] Cf. Mc. 3, 17 // [7] *καταξιώθη* A

προσηγορίας· ὁ διαπρυσίως καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ σαφέστερον ἁπάντων τριάδα μὲν ὑποστάσεων ἐν μονάδι[8] *θεότητος θεολογῶν, μονάδα δὲ φύσεως ἐν ἰδιοτήτων τριάδι θεηγορῶν προσκυνουμένην· ἐκεῖνος πάσῃ μὲν ἀνθρωπίνῃ πρῶτον σοφίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ προπαιδευθεὶς καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ διάνοιαν ἱκανῶς πρὸς εὐσέβειαν προγυμνασθεὶς καὶ σκεῦος ἑαυτὸν ἀξιόθεον προκαταρτισάμενος τῷ πνεύματι, οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἔρχεται λουτρόν, οὐκ ἔκπλυσιν ῥύπου*[9], *ἵν' εἴπω τολμήσας, ἀλλὰ φαιδροτέραν ψυχῆς ἔκλαμψιν*[10] *τὸ βάπτισμα δεχόμενος, οὐδ' ἐξάλειψιν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀλλὰ δωρεῶν κρειττόνων μετάληψιν τὸ τῆς χάριτος πνεῦμα προσηκάμενος.*

Καὶ οὕτως[11] *ἀρχὴν βίου δευτέρου καὶ πολιτείας ἀρίστης καὶ τελειοτάτης ἐντεῦθεν ἐνστησάμενος, τῆς μὲν σαρκικωτέρας ἀγωγῆς καὶ ζωῆς παντάπασιν ἠλλοτριοῦτο, ἐξίστατο δὲ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ τῆς ἐπιγείου καὶ ψυχικῆς σοφίας*[12] *καὶ ἀρετῆς, καὶ συμπάσης δὲ τῆς κοσμικῆς ἐπαιρόμενος φιλίας πρὸς μόνον μετεσκευάζετο τὸ πνεῦμα· μόνῳ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ πνεύματος ἕπεσθαι διέγνωκεν, μόνῳ τούτῳ*[13] *τῷ κανόνι στοιχεῖν. καὶ τῆς ἐν πνεύματι θείῳ κατορθουμένης ἀρετῆς καὶ σοφίας ἐγκάρδιον ἔρωτα καὶ λαμπρότατον κτησάμενος, πᾶσαν μὲν ἄδικον εἰς τέλος ἐξέκλινεν ὁδόν, πρὸς πάσας δὲ τὰς θείας κατορθούμενος ἐντολὰς τὸ τῶν ὀρεκτῶν ἀκρότατον ἁπάντων διὰ τούτων ἐδίωκε Χριστόν. καὶ καθάπερ οἱ παῖδες, ἔτι μὲν ὄντες νήπιοι τὴν ἡλικίαν, νηπιώδεσι τύποις καὶ βίοις ἀγόμενοι καὶ ἔθεσι καὶ νηπιοπρεπέσι χρῶνται λογισμοῖς, εἰς ἄνδρας δὲ προϊόντες ἀνδρικωτέραις ἀκολούθως ἐννοίαις καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασιν προσβαίνουσι, τῆς νηπιώδους αὐτοῖς ἀγωγῆς τῇ τελειότητι καταργουμένης, οὕτω καὶ ὁ μέγας οὗτος πᾶσαν τὴν πρὸ τοῦ λουτροῦ — ὅσῃ λόγοις αὐτῷ καὶ ὅσῃ πράξεσι πεφιλοπόνητο — παιδείαν καθάπερ μειρακιώδη νοῦν καταλιπών, μᾶλλον δὲ ταύτῃ πρὸς*[14] *τὴν τῆς τελειότητος εἰσαγωγῇ χρησάμενος ἀνάληψιν, ἔργῳ*[15] *τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἐκεῖνο διὰ παντὸς ἐπλήρου, « τῶν ὄπισθεν μὲν ἐπιλανθανόμενος, τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν δὲ κατὰ σκοπὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως ἐπεκτεινόμενος*[16]. »

[8] *ἐν μονάδι* A : *ἐννάδι* B // [9] *ῥύπων* A // [10] *ἔλλαμψιν* A // [11] *ὄντως* A // [12] Cf. *Iac.* 3, 15 // [13] *τούτου* A // [14] *πρό* A // [15] *ἔργον* B // [16] *Ep. Phil.* 3, 13-14.

5. Retreat to the Wilderness : Gregory Strives for the Active Virtues and the Contemplative Virtues.

Διχῇ γὰρ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν οὐ παρὰ τοῖς ἔξωθεν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ὁρᾶσθαι κατά τε πρᾶξιν καὶ θεωρίαν εἰδώς, τὴν ἔξω μὲν τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἀφῆκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μόνης τῆς ἔνδον περιείχετο. τοῦτό γε κυρίως ἡγούμενος φιλοσοφίαν τὸ ῥαγῆναι μὲν κόσμου καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ συγχύσεως καὶ ἀκοσμίας ἁπάσης ὑπεραναβῆναι, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ ἀκραιφνεστάτῳ δι' ἀκραιφνοῦς βίου τε καὶ λόγου συγκραθῆναι φωτί —, πρὸς τοῦτο πάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ μελέτῃ φιλοπονωτάτῃ συνετείνετο. συνιδὼν δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως δύναιτο τῆς ἐφέσεως κατευστοχεῖν ἢ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ μὲν τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἄνωθεν δὲ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος καταξιοῦσθαι συνεργίας (εἶναι γὰρ κοινὴν τήν τε κτῆσιν ὁμοίως τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τὴν τελείωσιν · τοῦ μὲν τὰ σπέρματα, ἡμῶν δὲ τὴν ἐργασίαν προσηκόντως καταβαλλομένων, καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος μὲν τήν τε θέλησιν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν μυστικῶς ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν ἡμῖν, ἡμῶν δὲ τῷ βουλήματι τοῦ πνεύματος συνεπομένων καὶ προθέσει γνώμης εὐγνώμονι τούτῳ συνεργαζομένων) — ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ μεγαλόφρων ἐκεῖνος ἐννοῶν, εἰδὼς δὲ τὰς ἐν κώμαις καὶ πόλεσι διατριβὰς ἐμποδὼν ἔστιν ὅτε τοῖς ἀρχομένοις μάλιστα καθίστασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν, εἴτουν ἀνάληψιν, τῆς ὑψηλῆς φιλοσοφίας, ῥήγνυται μὲν ἐξαίφνης γονέων καὶ συγγενῶν, ῥήγνυται δὲ πάσης βιωτικῆς μερίμνης.

Ἐξάρας δὲ τοὺς πόδας εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ἤγετο τῷ πνεύματι[1]. καὶ ὥσπερ ἡ μεγάλη τοῦ λόγου καὶ πρόδρομος φωνὴ Ἰωάννης ὁ πάνυ, ὁ τῶν προφητῶν ἁπάντων τῇ πρὸς τὸν προφητευόμενον ἐγγύτητι μείζων μαρτυρηθείς[2], τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ τῷ θεῷ πρότερον ἐσχολακὼς καὶ δι' ὑπερφεροῦς[3] βίου καὶ ὑπερανεστώσης θεωρίας τὴν κτίσιν ὑπεραναβὰς καὶ τῷ κτίστῃ προσηγγικώς, μετὰ ταῦτα δὴ πρὸ προσώπου κυρίου πορευόμενος τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ προητοιμάσατο · οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ Γρηγόριος τῶν κοσμικῶν ταραχῶν καὶ βρασμάτων πρότερον ἀσμένως ῥαγείς, ἀνεπιθολώτῳ δὲ βίῳ καὶ πάσης κακότητος ἀνεπιμίκτῳ τὸν νοῦν ὑψωθείς, θεωρίαις δὲ θείαις ὡς ἐφικ-

5. — [1] Cf. *Luc.* 4, 1 // [2] μείζ. μαρτ. ἐγγύτητι ∼ A // [3] ὑπερφυοῦς A

τὸν θεωθείς, οὕτως οὐ μετανοίας μόνον καὶ βαπτίσματος ἀνθρώποις κῆρυξ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὑπερτελοῦς τελειότατος τριάδος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐκπέμπεται μυσταγωγός. ὁ λόγος δὲ τοῦτο παραδείξει προϊών.

Καὶ γὰρ Βασίλειον μὲν τὸν μέγαν ὥσπερ πρότερον[4] τῆς θύραθεν οὕτω τῆς πνευματικῆς ὕστερον φιλοσοφίας συνεργὸν ἑταιρισάμενος, διδάσκαλον δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τῇ διανοίᾳ καταστήσας, οὕτω σὺν αὐτῷ πασῶν ἅμα τῆς κτήσεως[5] τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀντεποιεῖτο, πράξει μὲν τὰς πρακτικάς, θεωρίᾳ δὲ τὰς θεωρητικὰς μετιών, ἢ πράξει μὲν ταῖς θεωρητικαῖς[6] προσαναγόμενος, θεωρίᾳ δὲ τὰς πρακτικὰς ἑαυτῷ προσοικειούμενος.

Τίς δαὶ[7] ἡ πρᾶξις; δεῖν γὰρ οἶμαι ταύτην πρὸ τῆς θεωρίας διὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν ὑποτυπῶσαι δι' ὧν ἐκείνη λαμπρύνεται καὶ τελειοῦται. τίνες οὖν αἱ ἀρεταί; πρῶτον μὲν ἡσυχία βεβαία καὶ καθαρωτάτη, ἡσυχία ψυχῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ σώματος. καὶ γὰρ οὐ τῷ τόπῳ μόνῳ τοὺς πολιτικούς τε καὶ χωρητικοὺς θορύβους ὑπεξῄει· πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τῇ εὐσταθείᾳ τοῦ νοῦ πρὸς ἑαυτόν, δι' ἑαυτοῦ δὲ πρὸς θεὸν ἐπεστραμμένος τῷ τρόπῳ μᾶλλον μετήρχετο τὴν ἡσυχίαν, γαληναίας τε καὶ πραείας τὸν νοῦν κατηξιωμένος καταστάσεως, ἐν ᾗ καθάπερ ἐσόπτρῳ διαυγεῖ καὶ ἀκηλιδώτῳ τὰς τῶν οὐρανίων ἐλλάμψεων ἐμφάσεις ἀμιγεῖς τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς χαρακτήρων καὶ πλανωμένων ὑπεδέχετο[8]. δεύτερον δὲ μελέτη στερρὰ καὶ διαρκής, μελέτη τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ πνεύματος λογίων, οὐ χείλεσι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ γνησίως ἐν μυστηρίῳ λαλουμένων καὶ ταύτῃ σαφῶς οὐ διὰ μέλανος ἀλλὰ πνεύματος ἐγγραφομένων. τὴν προσευχὴν δὲ τῇ μελέτῃ σύζυγον κτησάμενος ἀχώριστον εἶχε τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ[9] θεοῦ. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα μὲν δι' ἡσυχίας, τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ τῇ μελέτῃ καθιεροῦν ἐσπούδαζε τῷ[10] θεῷ, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸν νοῦν ταῖς ἀενάοις ἐντεύξεσι συνῆπτε τῷ πατρί.

Ἐν τρισὶ δὲ τούτοις — λόγῳ, θυμῷ, καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ — πάσης ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆς θεωρουμένης καὶ τῷ λόγῳ μὲν ὡς κυριωτάτῳ προσήκοντος ἡγεμονεῖν, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τούτῳ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἡγεμονεῖσθαι (τοῦτο γὰρ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι τελειότητα ταῖς καταλλήλοις ἑκάστῳ τῆς ψυχῆς μέρει κατορθουμένην ἀρεταῖς), κἂν τούτοις τὴν ἄκραν ὁ μέγας ἐπιδεικνύμενος

[4] πρότερο B // [5] κτίσεως A // [6] θεωρητικῶς B // [7] δέ A // [8] Cf. Gr. Naz. *Or.* 2 (M. 35, 413c) // [9] om. A // [10] om. B

φιλοσοφίαν τὴν ἐγκράτειαν μὲν ἐφιστάνει τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ οὐ τροφῆς μόνον καὶ ὕπνου τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς χρείας ὑποτέμνουσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσαις αἰσθήσεσι μέτρα καὶ κανόνας ἀφορίζουσαν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν κάλλους ἀφανιζομένου καὶ πᾶσαν τῶν ἐπικήρων ὄρεξιν ἀνταναιροῦσαν καὶ πᾶν μέλος καὶ πᾶσαν κίνησιν παιδαγωγοῦσαν καὶ κατάγχουσαν καὶ τῷ κρείττονι νῷ καθυποτάττουσαν. τὴν πραΰτητα δὲ πάλιν ἀνθοπλίζει τῷ θυμῷ, ἐν ᾗ λύεσθαι μὲν αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τῆς ψυχῆς πικρίαν καὶ ὀργήν, λύεσθαι δὲ βλασφημίαν καὶ κραυγήν, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν κακίαν καὶ μῆνιν, ἃ δὴ τοῦ θυμοῦ πέφυκε βλαστήματα [11], συνόλως ἐκριζοῦσθαι, ὡς ἐκ ῥίζης δὲ τῆς τελείας πραΰτητος ἐξανθεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ πᾶσαν χρηστότητα καὶ καλοκαγαθίαν.

Τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην δὲ κόσμον ἄριστον ἐπιτίθησι τῷ λόγῳ, ἐν ᾗ πάντα μὲν κενὸν καὶ μετέωρον καθαιρεῖσθαι λογισμόν, πᾶν δὲ κατὰ τῆς τοῦ κρείττονος γνώσεως ἐπαιρόμενον ὕψωμα συστέλλεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ὃν τρόπον ὁ λόγος τῆς ἐπιθυμίας μὲν τὸ ἀκρατὲς δι' ἐγκρατείας, τοῦ θυμοῦ δὲ τὴν ἀλόγιστον ἀναχαιτίζειν ὁρμὴν ἐν πραΰτητι προβέβληται, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν φυσίωσιν τῇ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ καταστέλλων ἐπιεικῆ τε καὶ μέτριον ἑαυτὸν παρασκευάζων εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν αἰχμαλωτίζει Χριστοῦ.

Καθάπερ δὲ τῷ κρίνῳ παρέπεται φυσικῶς ἡ εὐωδία, οὕτω καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ταύταις κατορθωθείσαις ἡ ἀπάθεια, ἡ τῶν παθῶν ἀναχώρησις, ἡ ἐκρίζωσις καὶ ἀναίρεσις ἁπάντων παθῶν —ὅσα ψυχῆς, ὅσα σώματος —, ἡ μακαρία καὶ ἀνενόχλητος κατάστασις, ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων βίος, ὁ ἀρραβὼν τῆς μελλούσης μακαριότητος. εἰς ταύτην ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος κατηντηκὼς καὶ ταύτην ἑβδόμην τῆς αὐτοῦ πρακτικῆς ἀναβάσεως διαθέμενος βαθμίδα, ἐπ' αὐτῇ λοιπὸν τὴν ἀρίστην καὶ μονιμωτάτην τῶν ἀρετῶν τριάδα — πίστιν δὴ λέγω καὶ ἐλπίδα καὶ ἀγάπην [12] — οἷα δὴ κορωνίδα καλλίστην ἐπεθήκατο· πίστιν μὲν τὴν εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὴν μίαν θεότητα καὶ δύναμιν καὶ βασιλείαν, ἐν στόματι μὲν ὁμολογίαν εἰλικρινῆ, ἐν καρδίᾳ δὲ καὶ νοῒ σύνεσιν ἀμετακλινῆ καὶ συγκατάθεσιν· ἐλπίδα δὲ τούτων αὐτῶν τῶν διὰ πίστεως νῦν [13] ἀμυδρῶς θεωρουμένων τῆς τελειοτέρας ὕστερον ἐκφάνσεως εἴτουν ἀποκαλύψεως τὴν προσδοκίαν· ἀγάπην δὲ τὸν ἀκρό-

[11] βλαστ. πέφυκε ∼ A // [12] ἀγάπην καὶ ἐλπίδα ∼ A // [13] om. A

τατον τῆς νοητῆς ταύτης κλίμακος ἀναβασμόν, τὸ κεφάλαιον νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, τὸν τῆς τελειότητος σύνδεσμον, τὴν προσεχῆ καὶ ἄμεσον ἐν πνεύματι τοῦ ἰδίου νοῦ πρὸς θεὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κοινωνίαν καὶ ἐφαρμογήν.

Ταύταις δὴ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἁπάσαις πρακτικῶς κατορθουμέναις τὰς κατὰ νοῦ θεωρίαν τελειουμένας ἰσαρίθμως ἐπιπλέκει· τὰς ἐνεργείας δὴ λέγω πρῶτον τοῦ πνεύματος, τὰς κατὰ τὸν Ἡσαΐαν ἑπτὰ πνεύματα προσειρημένας, αἵ[14] δὴ κυρίως καὶ πρώτως τῷ ἐκ τῆς Ἰεσσαὶ ῥίζης[15] ἐπαναπαυσάμεναι Χριστῷ, δευτέρως δὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μέθεξιν τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις τῶν αὐτοῦ μετόχων[16], μάλιστα δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷ νῦν ἐπαινουμένῳ νοερῶς αὐτὰς ἐνεργοῦντι καὶ κατανοοῦντι, μᾶλλον δὲ δι' αὐτῶν ἐνεργουμένῳ καὶ τελειουμένῳ, μυστικῶς ἐπαναπαύονται. τίνας οὖν εἶναι ταύτας; πρώτην μὲν σοφίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ κάτωθεν οἷα δὴ ῥίζαν σοφίας καὶ ἀρχὴν τὸν φόβον κυρίου προκαταβαλλόμενος τὸν ἁγνόν, τὸν διαμένοντα εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος κατὰ τὸν Δαυείδ[17]· ἐν ᾧ τὴν σάρκα καθηλούμενος[18], ψυχὴν δὲ καὶ τὸν νοῦν στοιχειούμενος καὶ καθαιρόμενος[19] πρὸς τὸ ὕψος τῆς θείας ἐπαίρεται σοφίας[20].

Ἰσχὺν δὲ τῷ φόβῳ καὶ βουλὴν προσειληφώς, τῇ μὲν οὐ κατὰ παθῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δαιμόνων ἀνδρίζεται καὶ κραταιοῦται, οὐδὲ κατὰ τούτων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ δυναμοῦται τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος[21], καὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ τούτου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν υἱῶν τῆς ἀπειθείας[22] τῶν ἐνεργουμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, οἷς εὐκαίρως ἔμελλε συμπλεκόμενος[23] καταγωνίζεσθαι· τῆς βουλῆς δὲ τῷ πνεύματι οὐ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν μόνον ἑαυτῷ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πᾶσιν ἢ πλείοσι διερευνώμενος, οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς ἰδίας θέλημα ψυχῆς ἀλλὰ τὸ δεσποτικὸν καὶ πανάγαθον καὶ τέλειον ὡς εὐγνώμων οἰκέτης δοκιμάζων[24], καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς τῆς διανοίας βάθεσιν ἐρείδων, πᾶν εἶδος κακῆς ἐξετρέπετο βουλῆς.

Εὐσέβειαν δὲ δογμάτων ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τρόπων εὐθύτητι μετῄει. πάσης μὲν γὰρ ἐννοίας ἀτόπου, πάσης δὲ ῥήσεως βεβήλου καὶ παντὸς ἀλλοτρίου τῶν αἱρετιζόντων χρώματος ἀποδιυλιζόμενος, ἐν ἀνακαινώσει δὲ τοῦ νοὸς ἐν Χριστῷ μεταμορφούμενος, κομιδῇ κατωρθοῦτο πρὸς εὐσέβειαν.

[14] ἃ B // [15] Cf. *Is.* 11, 1-3 // [16] μετέχων A // [17] Cf. *Ps.* 18, 10 // [18] Cf. *Ps.* 118, 120 // [19] καθαιρούμενος A // [20] Cf. Gr. Naz. *Or.* 39 (M. 36, 344 A) // [21] Cf. *Eph.* 2, 2 // [22] Cf. *Eph.* 5, 6 // [23] om. B // [24] Cf. *Rom.* 12, 2

Γνώσεως δέ — τῶν νοητῶν ἤτοι γνωστῶν οὔσης ἀθρόας θεωρίας, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τῆς ὁράσεως τῶν ὁρατῶν — τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ τὸ περιόν, ὅσῳ[25] *καὶ μᾶλλον ἁπάντων*[26] *ἑαυτὸν ἐκκαθηράμενος πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελικὴν θεωρίαν κατὰ νοῦν μετεστοιχείωτο. εἰ ἄβυσσον καὶ σταγόνας ὑετοῦ καὶ ἡμέρας αἰῶνος ἀριθμήσειας, καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτῷ λογίοις βλυστάνουσαν σύνεσιν κατανοήσειας. ὁ νοῦς μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἱερᾶς γραφῆς, οἷα ῥόδον ἐν κάλυκι, τῇ ἀσαφείᾳ τῆς λέξεως συγκέκρυπται· ὁ δὲ τοῦτον τρανῶς ἀναπτύσσων ἐν*[27] *τῷ πνεύματι καὶ τῆς εὐωδίας τῆς γραφικῆς συνέσεως ὑπερπληρούμενος, δι' αὐτῆς εὐθὺς τῆς πανιέρου σοφίας πανιέρως καταδράσσεται. ἔστι γὰρ οὖν σοφία ἡ μὲν ζῶσά τε*[28] *καὶ αὐθυπόστατος ὁ τῷ πατρὶ συνὼν προαιωνίως καὶ συννοούμενος τούτῳ συναϊδίως λόγος· ἔστι δὲ σοφία καὶ οἱ τοῦ λόγου λόγοι, δι' ὧν ὁ λόγος τοῖς μετὰ συνέσεως τούτους μετιοῦσιν ἱεροκρυφίως θεωρεῖται. κατὰ τοσοῦτον δὲ τῷ θεολόγῳ περιφανεστέρα τε*[29] *καὶ τρανεστέρα τοῦ ἀκαταλήπτου γίνεται κατάληψις, καθ' ὅσον δὴ καὶ συνέσεως εὐμοιρηκὼς τελειοτέρας καὶ τοὺς τῆς σοφίας λόγους κρειττόνως τε πάντων καὶ τελειοτέρως*[30] *ἐκαρπώσατο*[31].

6. Gregory's Contemplation of the Trinity as the Summit of Virtues: His Understanding of the Mystery of the Trinity.

Οὕτως ὁ πνευματικὸς Ἰσραήλ, ὁ ὄντως θεὸν ὁρῶν, ταῖς πρακτικαῖς ἀρεταῖς τὰς θεωρητικὰς ἐπισυνείρων καὶ κλιμακηδὸν ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων ἀλλήλαις ἀντιτιθεὶς καὶ προσαρμόζων, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀναβάσεις ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ διατιθέμενος[1] *καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν νοερῶς*[2] *κατευθυνόμενος, ἐσχάτην δὴ ταύτην ἀνάβασιν νοῦ καὶ λόγου καὶ πνεύματος τὴν θεωρίαν διατίθεται, δι' ἧς αὐτῇ συνῆπται σαφῶς τῇ ἐπεστηριγμένῃ ταύτῃ τῇ κλίμακι*[3] *μοναρχικῇ τριάδι.*

Νοῦν μὲν οὖν αἰτίαν ἀναίτιον λόγου καὶ πνεύματος ἐνεργῆ καὶ ζῶσαν οἶμαι τούτῳ νενοῆσθαι, ὃν εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς πατρικῆς ὑπερουσιότητος εἰλῆφθαι· λόγον δὲ τὸν ὥσπερ ἐννόη-

[25] ὅσῳ B : ὅσον A // [26] ἁπάντων B : τῶν πάντων A // [27] om. A // [28] om. A // [29] om. A // [30] τελειοτέρας B // [31] ἐκαρπώσαντο A.

6. — [1] Cf. *Ps.* 83, 86 ; *διαθέμενος* A // [2] *νοητῶς* A // [3] Cf. *Gen.* 28, 12-13

μα καὶ τῆς τοῦ γεννήτορος νοῦ [4] *φύσεως ἀκριβέστατον ἐκμαγεῖον θεωρούμενον· πνεῦμα δὲ πάλιν τὸ νοῦν μὲν ἔχον αἰτίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν ὥσπερ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην ὀφθαλμόν, ὡς διὰ πηγῆς δὲ τοῦ λόγου ποταμηδὸν προρρέον* [5]*· ὃ δὴ καθάπερ τὸν λόγον εἰς παράδειγμα τῆς τοῦ ὑπερουσίου γεννήματος συμφυΐας πρὸς τὸν* [6] *φύσαντα, οὕτως αὐτῷ* [7] *πρὸς εἰκόνα τῆς τοῦ θείου προβλήματος ἰσοτιμίας πρὸς τὸν προβολέα νενοῆσθαι νοῦν* [8]. *εἰς τοιαύτην ὁ μέγας οὗτος καὶ θεόσοφος νοῦς περιωπὴν διὰ θεωρίας καὶ πράξεως ἀναβάς, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ θεαρχικωτάτῳ νῷ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πνεύματι διὰ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ νοῦ καὶ λόγου καὶ πνεύματος προσομιλῶν καὶ συγγινόμενος, τῶν ἀχράντων ὑπερεπληροῦτο φωτοχυσιῶν, τῶν ὑπὲρ λόγον κατηξιοῦτο μυσταγωγιῶν.*

Ἀλλὰ τίς ὁ τῆς μυσταγωγίας τρόπος; καλὸν γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ ταύτης ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ ἐφικτὸν ἐπιμνησθῆναι, ὡς ἂν σχοίημεν τύπον, ὥσπερ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς, οὕτω καὶ τῆς θεηγορίας ἐκείνου καὶ θεοσοφίας. τίς οὖν ἡ μυσταγωγία; θεὸς [9] *προσώποις ἐν τρισὶ νοούμενος· θεὸς πρώτως καὶ μόνως καὶ κυρίως ὤν, ὤν* [10]*, οὐ γινόμενος, εἰ καὶ περὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὕστερον τοῦτο καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν τεθεώρηται· ζωῶν, οὐ ζωούμενος, φωτίζων, οὐ φωτιζόμενος, ἁγιάζων, οὐχ ἁγιαζόμενος· ἄναρχος, ἀτελεύτητος, αἰώνιος· ὑπερούσιος, ὑπέρζωος, ὑπέρθεος· πάσης οὐσίας οὐσιοποιός, πάσης δυνάμεως δυναμοποιός, πάσης ἐνεργείας ἐνεργητικός· πάντων καθόλου φάναι τῶν ὄντων τὰς αἰτίας — νοητῶν, λογικῶν, αἰσθητῶν — ἑνοειδῶς τε καὶ συνειλιγμένως* [11] *ἐν ἑαυτῷ προέχων* [12].

Καὶ μήπω μηδενὸς τῶν ὄντων εἰς ὕπαρξιν παρενεχθέντος [13]*, ἣν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν καὶ πρῶτον, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν φώτων, ἐξ οὗ προαιωνίως ὁ υἱὸς καὶ λόγος πρῶτον ὁμοίως καὶ ἀληθινὸν ὑπερεκλάμπει φῶς, ἀσώματον ἀσωμάτου, ἄληπτον ἀλήπτου, καὶ ἄγνωστον ἀγνώστου· μόνῳ γὰρ ὡς ἔστι τῷ γεννήτορι γινώσκεται καὶ μόνος γινώσκει τὸν γεγεννηκότα* [14]. *ὥσπερ δὲ τῷ ἡλίῳ μὲν ἀκτίς (εἴπερ* [15] *δεῖ παραδείγμασι* [16] *τὸν ἄπειρον τεκμαίρεσθαι), τῇ ἀκτῖνι* [17] *δὲ σύνεστι*

[4] *υἱοῦ* A : cf. 17.111 // [5] Cf. Gr. Naz. *Or.* 31, 3 (M. 36, 169A) // [6] om. B // [7] *αὐτὸ* A // [8] Cf. Gr. Naz. *Or.* 29, 2 (M. 36, 76B) ; 23, 7 (M. 35, 1160A) // [9] *θεοῦ* A // [10] om. A // [11] *ξυνειλεγμένως* A // [12] *παρέχων* A // [13] *-θέντων* B // [14] Cf. *Matth.* 11, 27 // [15] *εἴ γε* B // [16] *παραδείγματι* A // [17] Cf. Gr. Naz. *Or.* 31 (M. 36, 169B)

τὸ φῶς[18] ἀεί, οὕτως τῷ πατρὶ μὲν ὁ υἱός, τῷ υἱῷ δὲ τὸ πατρικὸν φῶς καὶ πνεῦμα σύνεστι καὶ συμπαρομαρτεῖ· καὶ ὥσπερ οὐχ οἷόν τέ ποτε τὸν ἥλιον τοῦτον χωρὶς ἀκτῖνος εἶναι καὶ φωτός, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τῶν φώτων[19] ἄτερ λόγου καὶ πνεύματος νοεῖσθαι. ἐξ αὐτοῦ τε γάρ, ὡς ἐξ αὐτοφύτου ῥίζης καὶ προκαταρκτικῆς αἰτίας καρποὶ βλαστάνοντες, ἰσότιμοι καὶ συμπληρωτικοὶ τῆς ὅλης τελεαρχικῆς ὁρώμενοι θεότητος, ἐν αὐτῷ συναΐδιον τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἐσχήκασιν[20]. καθάπερ δὲ τριῶν ἅμα[21] λαμπτήρων ἰσοτίμων ἐν οἴκῳ καιομένων, ἓν μὲν ὁρᾶται τῶν τριῶν τὸ φῶς, οὐ συγχεῖται δὲ τῷ τοῦ φωτὸς ἑνοειδεῖ τῶν ὑποκειμένων λαμπτήρων ἡ διαφορότης, ἰδίοις γνωρίσμασιν ἑκάστου διαλλάττοντος πρὸς τὸ ὁμότιμον, οὕτω μιᾶς οὐσίας εἴτουν θεότητος ἐν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι θεωρουμένης, ἔστι τις ἑκάστῳ τούτων ἰδιότης ἀκίνητος παρεπομένη, καθ' ἣν τὸ τριττὸν ἀσυγχύτως διαδείκνυται τῶν ὑποστάσεων.

Τίνες οὖν αἱ ἰδιότητες; δῆλον ὡς ἀγεννησία, γέννησις, ἐκπόρευσις. εἶναι γὰρ τὸν πατέρα μὲν ἀγέννητον τῷ μή τινι τοῦτον αἰτίᾳ καὶ ἀρχῇ καθυποκεῖσθαι, πάσης δὲ νοουμένης ἢ λεγομένης αἰτίας καὶ ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν εἶναι τὴν πρωτίστην αἰτίαν καὶ ἀρχικωτάτην· γεννητὸν δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ὡς λόγον ἐκ νοῦ[22] τοῦ πατρὸς γεγεννημένον· ἐκπορευτὸν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὡς ἀπόρροιαν τῆς πατρικῆς οὐσίας εἰλικρινῆ. εἶναι δὲ καθάπερ τὸν υἱὸν εἰκόνα τῆς πατρῴας μορφῆς καὶ δόξης ἀπαράλλακτον, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ὁ νοῦς οἷά τις πηγὴ τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνδιαθέτου χρηματίζων λόγου, ὁ αὐτὸς αἴτιος καὶ τοῦ προφορικοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν αἴσθησιν φθάνοντος καθίσταται, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐννόημα μὲν καθάπερ ἑαυτοῦ ζῶσαν εἰκόνα μυστικῶς ἀπογεννᾷ, εἰκόνα δὲ τοῦ νοήματος αὖθις ἔξω προβάλλεται τὸν λόγον, οὕτως ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἀνεννόητος καὶ πρῶτος — ὡς ἔστιν εἰκάσαι τὰ μέγιστα διὰ βραχέων — ὡς ἄλλον μὲν ἑαυτὸν τὸν ἔμφυτον τίκτει καὶ οὐσιώδη πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος λόγον, ὡς ἄλλον δὲ λόγον τὸ πνεῦμα πάλιν ἤτοι τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς αὐτοῦ προβαλλόμενος δυνάμεως ἐν αὐτῷ[23] πᾶσαν τελεσιουργεῖ τὴν κτίσιν[24].

Τριὰς οὖν ἐν μονάδι καὶ μονὰς ἐν τριάδι τὸ προσκυνούμενον ἀποκαλύπτεται, τριὰς προσώποις καὶ μονὰς τῇ οὐσίᾳ, ἄτρεπ-

[18] *καί* add. A // [19] cf. 17.112-113 et *Iac.* 1, 17 // [20] *ἐσχηματήκασιν* A // [21] om. B // [22] *λόγου* A // [23] *ἑαυτῷ* A // [24] Cf. *Hebr.* 1, 3

τος, ἰσότιμος, ἄχραντος φύσει, ὁμόδοξος, ὁμόθρονος, ὁμοούσιος, ἓν βούλημα, ἐνέργεια μία [25], δύναμις ἡ αὐτή, ἐξουσία, κυριότης, βασιλεία μία, μὴ μεριζομένη. οὐδενὶ γὰρ τρόπῳ τοῦ ἐξ οὗ διενήνοχε τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἢ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἀναιτίως ὢν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ [26], τῷ μὲν γεννήσεως, τῷ δὲ ἐκπορεύσεως, αἴτιος καθίσταται.

7. Gregory's Teachings on Created Beings: Man's Fall and Redemption.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ ἅγιος τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια μυσταγωγούμενος — ὡς ἐνὸν βραχεῖ λόγῳ παραστῆσαι — καὶ ταύτῃ τὸν νοῦν διὰ πίστεως ἐπερείσας τῇ θεολογίᾳ, ἀκολούθως [1] αὐτῇ καὶ τὰς περὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἐφήρμοσε θεηγορίας [2] · οὐ χεῖρον δὲ τάχα δι' ὀλίγων ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκείνου λογίων καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπομνῆσαι. δυσὶ γὰρ κόσμοις [3] τὰ ὄντα συγκεφαλαιούμενος, καὶ τὸν μὲν νοητόν, τὸν δὲ αἰσθητὸν καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον καὶ οἰκεῖον θεῷ καὶ νοερόν, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον καὶ ξένον θεότητος καὶ ὑλικὸν κατανοῶν, ἑκάτερον [4] ἑκατέρου φιλοσοφωτάτῳ διακρίνει λογισμῷ. τὸν μὲν γὰρ πνευματικὸν καὶ οἱονεί τινα πύρινον τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ θεοειδῆ (τὰς ἀγγελικὰς καὶ ἀσωμάτους φύσεις), τὸν δὲ σωματικόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἑαυτῷ συνηρμοσμένον καὶ ἀλληλουχούμενον, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος τόδε τὸ πᾶν καὶ τῆς τῶν στοιχείων συνεστηκότα τετρακτύος.

Εἰς σοφίας δὲ μείζονος ἔνδειξιν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων μίξεως ἕν τι ζῷον [5] τῷ τεχνίτῃ συμπαγῆναι λόγῳ · τόδε εἶναι σάρκα μὲν ὡς ἐξ ὕλης πεπλασμένον τῆς γῆς, πνεῦμα δὲ ὡς ἐμφύσημα καὶ τοῦ ἐμφυσήσαντος [6] ὁμοίωσιν. ἄνθρωπον δὲ τὸ ὅλον δὴ τοῦτο κρᾶμα γεγενῆσθαι νοῦ καὶ αἰσθήσεως ἐπήβολον, ἵνα τῇ αἰσθήσει μὲν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς, τῷ νῷ [7] δὲ τοῖς νοητοῖς ὡς οἰκείοις ὁμιλῇ.

Τοῦτον τεθῆναι μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν γραφὴν ἐν παραδείσῳ φυτῶν ἀκηράτων ἤτοι θεοπρεπῶν νοημάτων θεωρόν · ὄφεως δὲ πονηροῦ βουλαῖς ὑπενεχθέντα καὶ τῆς μὴ προσηκούσης

[25] om. B // [26] ἢ ὅτι . . . ἐξ αὐτοῦ A : om. B.

7. — [1] ἀκολούθους A // [2] θεωρίας A // [3] Cf. Gr. Naz. *Or.* 38 (M. 36, 321A-325C *passim*) // [4] ἑκάτερος A // [5] ζῴω B // [6] ἐμφυσήματος B // [7] τῷ νῷ B : νοητῷ A.

αὐτῷ θεωρίας ἀκαίρως ἐφαψάμενον αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ πεποιηκότος καὶ τῆς τοῦ παραδείσου τρυφῆς ἐνδίκως ἀποικίζεσθαι. ἐντεῦθεν αὐτὸν ἱδρώτων καὶ κόπων καὶ θανάτων τὴν ἄπονον καὶ ἀνώλεθρον ἀμείψασθαι ζωήν. ἐντεῦθεν λόγῳ καὶ νόμῳ, κριταῖς καὶ προφηταῖς, καὶ τρόποις εὐεργεσιῶν παντοίων καὶ τρόποις παντοδαπῶν μαστίγων δυσήνιον τοῦτον καὶ δυσάγωγον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνίατον πάντη, καθεστῶτα τοῦ πρώτου δεῖσθαι βοηθήματος. τόδε εἶναι αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν λόγον, τὸν ἄσαρκον ἐκ παρθενικῶν διὰ τὴν σάρκα σαρκούμενον αἱμάτων καὶ ψυχῇ νοερᾷ διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν καταμιγνύμενον καὶ διὰ θανάτου τὴν τεθνεῶσαν ἀνιστῶντα φύσιν καὶ πρὸς θειοτέραν μεθιστῶντα ζωήν.

8. Spiritual Enlightenment and Nourishment Found in the Wilderness Is Preparation for Gregory's Ministry among Men.

Τοιαῦτα τῷ θεολόγῳ κατὰ τὸν Πόντον ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο. ταῦτα τῷ νῷ μὲν ἐκεῖ πρότερον θεωρητικῶς ἐθεωρεῖτο, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα θεολογικῶς ὑπηγορεύετο. καὶ οὗτος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐρημικῆς ἡσυχίας ὁ καρπός, ὡς ἐμοὶ γοῦν ἐφεῖται τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ μετρίως διειπεῖν. πᾶσαν τοιγαροῦν παλαιάν, πᾶσαν δὲ νέαν, ὡς οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν πάλαι οὔτε[1] τῶν ὕστερον ἐκμελετήσας γραφήν, παντὸς δὲ ῥήματος θείου τὴν ἀκριβῆ γνῶσιν καὶ πρώτην τῆς ἀληθείας[2] ἔννοιαν ὑπό γε τῷ θείῳ πνεύματι καθηγεμόνι μυσταγωγηθείς, καὶ οὕτως[3] θεοῦ παράδεισον παντὸς ἡδίστου καρποῦ καὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ νοήματος πεπληρωμένον τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν καταρτισάμενος[4] ἐπάνεισι πρώτοις μὲν τοῖς ἱεροῖς πατράσιν τῆς αὐτοῦ μάλιστα χρήζουσι καὶ πνευματικῆς καὶ σωματικῆς ἐπικουρίας, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς εὐσεβεῖν αἱρουμένοις, εἰς κοινὴν ἑαυτὸν λυσιτέλειαν προθείς.

Καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ Πέτρος, ἡ τιμιωτάτη τῶν Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν ἀπαρχὴ καὶ κορωνίς, καὶ καθόλου δὲ πᾶς ὁ θεοειδὴς τῶν ἀποστόλων χορὸς τῷ θεαρχικωτάτῳ πρῶτον Ἰησοῦ γνησιαίτατα παρηκολουθηκότες καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς πίστεως ἐσχοληκότες καὶ πάσης μὲν κηλῖδος τὸν νοῦν ἐξεκαθαίροντο, παντὸς

8. — [1] δὲ add. A // [2] τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ πρώτην ∼ A // [3] ὄντος A // [4] καταστησάμενος A

δὲ φωτισμοῦ γνώσεως θείας ἐνεπίμπλαντο, τελειοτέρας δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος μετὰ ταῦτα παρουσίας καὶ δαψιλεστέρας τῶν θείων ἐνεργημάτων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς γενομένης μετουσίας, οὕτω δὴ σωτῆρες αὐτοὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔθνεσι ἐξαπεστέλλοντο· τὸν ἴσον τρόπον καὶ οὗτος τῷ κυρίῳ πνεύματι πρῶτον διαπύρῳ πίστει καθ' ἡσυχίαν συγγενόμενος καὶ τῇ γραφῇ προσομιλήσας καὶ τῇ θεωρίᾳ σχολάσας, καὶ πᾶν μὲν ἴχνος κακίας εἰς τέλος καθαρθείς, πᾶσαν δὲ θείαν ἔλλαμψιν καταυγασθείς, τελειοτέρας δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπιπνοίας, εἴτουν ἐνεργείας, καταξιωθεὶς καὶ οὕτω κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Ἰάκωβον τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποκυηθείς, ἀπαρχή τις καὶ αὐτὸς κατ' ἐκείνους τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ κτισμάτων [5] ἐξαπέσταλται.

Ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος, εἰκόνος θεοῦ καὶ χειρὸς καὶ παραδείσου τρυφῆς ἠξιωμένος, ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἐν πνεύματι διαγωγῆς δι' ἡδονῆς ἐξώλισθε σαρκός, τῆς κατὰ σάρκα γενέσεως ἀρχηγὸς ἀνθρώποις ἐγενήθη καὶ τὴν ἀγγελικὴν καὶ ἀνώλεθρον ἀπροσεξίᾳ προέμενος ζωὴν τῆς παθητῆς καὶ φθαρτῆς ἐχρημάτισε πατήρ. Γρηγόριος δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα μὲν τοῦ πρώτου καὶ χοϊκοῦ πρότερον περιβαλόμενος (ἄνθρωπος γάρ), ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν ἀθετήσας, τὸν δεύτερον δὲ καὶ οὐράνιον ἐπενδυσάμενος Ἀδάμ, καὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τούτου γεννηθείς τε καὶ καταρτισθείς (ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον γάρ), ἀρχή τις καὶ ῥίζη τῆς κατὰ πνεῦμα γεννήσεως τῇ καθ' αὐτὸν ὤπται γενεᾷ. λόγου γὰρ δυνάμει καὶ πνεύματος οἷα σπόρον ἀμίαντον τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας ῥῆμα ταῖς ἁπάντων καταβάλλόμενος καρδίαις καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς συνεχέσιν ὡς ὄμβροις ὁμιλίαις τρέφων καὶ τελεσφορῶν καὶ εἰς μέτρον πνευματικῆς προσάγων ἡλικίας, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν κατὰ σάρκα τοκέων κατὰ πνεῦμα γίνεται πατήρ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω τὴν νοερὰν ταυτηνὶ καὶ καλλίστην ὑπερεξέτεινεν υἱοθεσίαν.

Ἑαυτὸν δὲ θαυμασιώτατον καὶ ἀκριβὲς κομιδῇ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀρχέτυπον προθείς, πρῶτον μὲν τὰς αἰτίας τῆς εἰς τὸν Πόντον φυγῆς ἀπολογούμενος ποιεῖται φανεράς· καὶ ὅτι κάτοχος τοῦ καλοῦ τῆς ἡσυχίας ἔρωτος [6] καὶ φιλοσοφίας γενόμενος τῆς ἀνωτάτω τοὺς ἀστικοὺς ἐξέκλινε θορύβους, ὡς ἂν ἑαυτὸν καθάπερ ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ ταύτῃ διαφανεστάτῳ καταθρήσας [7] καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενόμενον διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς θείας ἱερωσύνης χρῖσμα τελεωτέρᾳ καθάρ-

[5] Cf. *Iac.* 1, 18 // [6] Cf. Gr. Naz. *Or.* 2 (M. 35, 413B) // [7] καθαρίσας A

σει σφραγισάμενος καὶ βέβαιον ἑαυτῷ τὸ θεῖον δώρημα καταστησάμενος, οὕτω δὴ καθαρῶς τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ προσομιλῆσαι δυνηθῇ. εἶτα τὸ τοῦ ἱερέως ὑποδείκνυσιν ἀξίωμα ὁποῖόν τε δεῖ τὸν ἐπισκοπῆς εἶναι προστησόμενον καὶ οἷς λόγοις ὀφείλει λογικῶν ἐπιστατεῖν θρεμμάτων· κάλλιστα καὶ φιλοσοφώτατα τῷ λόγῳ τοῖς ἄλλοις παραδούς, ἔργοις ἐκεῖνος καὶ λαμπροτάτοις ἀγῶσι τοὺς ἰδίους πιστούμενος ἐπλήρου λόγους.

9. The Activities of Gregory's Ministry at Nazianzus.

Τίνα τοίνυν τὰ ἔργα; καὶ ἴδωμεν ὡς ἀξιολογώτατα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ. καὶ τί γὰρ ἢ τῆς θεολόγου ψυχῆς καὶ πίστεως ἄξια; πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ναοῦ κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος ταῖς ἐκείνου προνοίαις καὶ σπουδαῖς ἐξεγειρόμενον καὶ ὡς οὐρανὸς ἐπὶ γῆς ἄλλος τῷ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς κατοικοῦντι σαφῶς καθιερούμενος. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἧττον τῶν ἐκείνου θαυμάζειν ἄξιον· ὁ γὰρ ναὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀξιόθεον διὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν δειμάμενος θεῷ, τί μέγα εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκ λίθων τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῷ πατρὶ συνεισήνεγκε κατασκευήν;

Ἔπειτα γονέων τιμαί — τιμαὶ διὰ λόγων, τιμαὶ δι' ἔργων —, ὀρφανῶν ὑπερασπισμοί, χηρῶν ἐπικουρίαι, πενήτων προστασίαι, γηροκομίαι, νοσοκομίαι, πτωχοτροφίαι, ἅς τε καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος κατειργάζετο καὶ ἃς Βασιλείῳ τῷ ἑταίρῳ συνειργάζετο, οὐκ ἔργοις μόνον τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν θεραπείαν συνεισφέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγοις ὑπερφυοῦς παραινέσεως καὶ λιθίνας καρδίας πρὸς φιλοπτωχίαν ἀναζωπυρῶν. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐναντιότητες καὶ ἀντιρρήσεις, πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους δέ γε τῆς πίστεως ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις, οὐ σωματικαὶ τοσοῦτον ὅσῳ[1] *πνευματικαί, τῷ ἐκείνου λόγῳ καὶ νόμῳ κυβερνωμένων ἁπάντων καὶ ποιμαινομένων. καὶ γὰρ Καισαρίου μὲν ἤδη τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὸν βίον ἐκλιπόντος, τοῦ πατρὸς δὲ τὸν θρόνον διαχειρίζειν λαχόντος τῆς πατρίδος, τῷ γήρᾳ δὲ πιεζομένου καὶ νόσῳ τρυχομένου καὶ τὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐχ οἵου τε ὄντος οἰκονομίας ἢ ἀνωμαλίας διαφέρειν, Γρηγόριος ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα· γήρως ὑποστήριγμα, νόσων ἴαμα, σώματος οἰκοδομή, παράκλησις ψυχῆς, πνεύματος παραμυθία, τὸ πάντων*

9. — [1] *καὶ* add. A.

κράτιστον, λογισμῶν φυλακὴ καὶ πίστεως σαλευθείσης ἐπανόρθωσις.

10. The Spread of Arianism and Gregory's Opposition to It at Nazianzus.

Καὶ γάρ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνου συνηνέχθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ ἀρειανὴ λύσσα κατὰ πᾶσαν μικροῦ τὴν ὑφήλιον ἐφήπλωτο [1] *καὶ ἡ κατὰ τῆς τριαδικῆς ἰσότητος* [2] *καινοτομία, καθάπερ τις λοιμὸς ἢ γάγγραινα, κατὰ πάσης χώρας καὶ πόλεως ἔσχε τὴν νομὴν καὶ κατεκράτει μὲν βασιλέων, κατεκράτει δὲ ἀρχόντων καὶ λαῶν, κατεκράτει δέ — τὸ πάντων δεινότατον — τῶν κακῶν ἀρχιερέων, ἢ φόβῳ τῶν κρατεῖν νομιζόντων κατασειομένων ἢ δώροις κλεπτομένων ἢ κολακείαις δελεαζομένων ἢ* [3] *ἀγνοίᾳ — τὸ μετριώτατον* [4] *— ἀπατωμένων· ὅτε δὴ ταῦτ' ἦν ὁρᾶν, ἐκκλησίας κατασκαπτομένας, ναοὺς ἀφῃρημένους, αἵμασι χραινομένους, ἱερά τε συλώμενα καὶ ἅγια βεβηλούμενα καὶ ποσὶν ἀνίπτοις κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ῥιπτούμενα καὶ καταπατούμενα· ἡνίκα τὸ μὲν ὀρθόδοξον ἅπαν καὶ εὐσεβὲς τῆς ἐκκλησίας μέρος τῶν οἰκείων ἀτίμως ἐξωθεῖτο, καὶ ἢ δημοσίαις εἱρκταῖς ἢ λιμοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις ἢ μάστιξι βιαιοτάταις* [5] *ἢ αἰκίαις πολυτροπωτάταις ἢ δειναῖς ὑπερορίαις ἢ πικροτάταις καθάπαξ εἰπεῖν θλίψεσι πολιορκούμενον περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἐκινδύνευεν εἰ μὴ συνετίθετο τῇ δυσσεβείᾳ, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἑκόντι μεταναστεύοντες καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐρήμους ἀπαυτομολοῦντες τὴν μετὰ τῶν ἀλόγων οἴκησιν θηρίων τῆς μετὰ τῶν λαλεῖν εἰς τὸ ὕψος τολμώντων βλασφημίαν ἀνθηροῦντο συνοικήσεως, τὸ δ' ὅσον ἀντίδοξον καὶ δυσσεβὲς τὰς ἐκκλησίας κατασχόντες καὶ ὥσπερ τι φρούριον τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων* [6] *τῆς ἑαυτῶν ταύτης* [7] *κακίας ἡγησάμενοι, ἐντεῦθεν τῶν εὐσεβεῖν ἑλομένων κατατρέχοντες τούτους ἐλυμαίνοντο, τότε δὴ τότε καὶ κατὰ τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου πατρίδος τὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως ἄγος, καθάπερ τις ὑδάτων ῥαγδαία φορά, καταρραγέν, ὅσον μὲν κοῦφον εὗρε καὶ σαθρόν, παρέσυρε, δηλονότι καὶ διέλυσεν, (ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὸν πατέρα λόγος ἀκεραιότητι γνώμης ὑπαχθέντα γράμμασιν,*

10. — [1] ὑφήπλωτο A // [2] ἰσότης A // [3] δώροις . . . δελεαζομένων ἢ A : om. B // [4] Cf. Gr. Naz. *Or.* 21 (M. 35, 1109A) // [5] βιαιοτάτοις B // [6] ὀχυρωτάτων A // [7] ταύτας A

οὐ διανοίᾳ, τοῖς πονηροῖς συνενεχθῆναι)· ὅσον δὲ τῇ πέτρᾳ τῆς ἐκείνου θεολογίας καὶ πίστεως ἐστήρικτο, πάσης αἱρετικῆς ἐπηρείας καὶ λύμης ἀπερίτρεπτον διαμεμένηκεν [8].

Νῶε μὲν οὖν ὁ πάλαι τῇ καθ' αὐτὸν [9] *ἀμέμπτως συζῶν μωμητῇ γενεᾷ, ἐπειδὴ χάριν εὗρε παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, μυεῖται μὲν κόσμου τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι δι' ὕδατος πανωλεθρίαν, μυεῖται δὲ τρόπον τῆς τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆς· καὶ κιβωτὸν ἐκ ξύλων πηξάμενος ἐναρμονίως καὶ πάντων ὁμοῦ ζῴων σπέρματα πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰσαγαγὼν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα ταύτῃ κατασφαλισάμενος, οὕτω τοὺς οὐρανίους καταράκτας καὶ τὰς ἀβυσσίους τῶν ὑδάτων πηγάς, σπέρμα καὶ ἀπαρχὴ βίου τηρούμενος δευτέρου, διεδίδρασκεν. Γρηγόριος δὲ τὸν νοητὸν τῶν αἱρέσεων προορῶν κατακλυσμὸν τοσοῦτον ὄντα τοῦ* [10] *κατὰ τὸν Νῶε χαλεπώτερον ὅσῳ τοῦ σώματα* [11] *φθείροντος ὁ ψυχαῖς λυμαινόμενος βλαβερώτερος καθίσταται, καὶ κιβωτὸν μὲν τὴν καθ' αὐτὸν* [12] *ἐκκλησίαν κατασκευασάμενος, ἀρρήκτοις*[13] *δὲ δόγμασι καὶ ὀρθοτόμοις κατασφαλισάμενος, καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἐκ γένους μόνον, ἤδη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀλλογενεῖς δοκοῦντας (ὅσους πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ ὑπερασπίζουσα προσήγαγε χείρ) εὖ μάλα προθύμως προσιέμενος καὶ τούτους* [14] *λόγοις τροφίμοις καὶ νοστιμωτάτοις τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς τριάδος διατρέφων, παντὸς ἀνεπάφους κατακλυσμοῦ ψυχῆς διατηρεῖ.*

Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν [15] *μόνον ὡς εἰκὸς ὁρῶν ἐν ὀκτὼ μόναις ταῖς οἰκειοτάταις διεσῴζετο ψυχαῖς· ὁ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας ὁμειρόμενος* [16] *καὶ τῶν ἀπορρηγνυμένων οὐχ ἧττον ἢ τῶν προσερχομένων προμηθούμενος, τὸ μὲν πατρικὸν ἥττημα λόγου δυνάμει καὶ πνεύματος καὶ ὀρθοτόμου πίστεως ἐπικαλυψάμενος περιουσίᾳ, πᾶν δὲ σκῶλον ὃ δὴ χάριν ἐκείνου παρεμπέπτωκεν ἐξάρας, εἰρηνικοῖς δὲ λόγοις τὸν ἀκάθεκτον ἐξευμαρίσας ζῆλον, καταλλάττει μὲν τῷ πατρὶ τὸ στασιάζον· τῷ μεγάλῳ δὲ καὶ ἀστασιάστῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σώματι συνδέων τῇ ἀνοθεύτῳ καὶ εἰλικρινεῖ τῆς θεότητος ὁμολογίᾳ λαὸν κυρίῳ περιούσιον, ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων* [17], *ἐπιστημόνως ποιμαίνων διεσώσατο. οἷς οὖν ὁ πνευματικῶς διασῴζων ἐκ ψυχικῆς πανωλεθρίας*

[8] *μεμένηκεν* A // [9] *καθ' αὐτόν* correxi : *κατ' αὐτόν* A B // [10] *τόν* A // [11] *σώματος* B // [12] *καθ' αὐτόν* correxi : *κατ' αὐτόν* A B // [13] *ἀρρήτοις* B // [14] *τούτοις* B // [15] *καθ' αὐτόν* correxi : *κατ' αὐτόν* A B // [16] *ἱμειρόμενος* A // [17] ***Ep. Tit.*** **2, 14**

τοῦ σωματικῆς ἀπαλλάττοντος φθορᾶς καὶ ὁ μυρίους τῷ πλήθει τοῦ βραχεῖς ὑπερέξει διασῴζοντος, τούτοις ἐκεῖνον οὗτος παρευδοκιμήσειεν [18].

11. Gregory Consecrated as Bishop.

Ἀλλὰ τί τοῖς ἐλάττοσι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐνδιατρίβων μηκύνειν μοι δοκῶ τὸν λόγον, δέον τοῖς μείζοσι τῶν αὐτοῦ χωρῆσαι θαυμασίων καὶ ταῖς τελειοτέραις τῶν πράξεων τοῦτον γνωρίσαι τελειότερον;

Ἡγιάσθαι μὲν οὖν τῷ ὑπεραγίῳ τοὺς ἁγίους πρὸ γεννήσεως, ὥσπερ ἀπηλλοτριῶσθαι τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἀπὸ μήτρας, τῷ θείῳ πνεύματι παναληθῶς μεμαρτύρηται [1] · τῶν τε γὰρ γενομένων ἁπάντων καὶ [2] γενησομένων ὁμοίως ἄπταιστον εἶναι καὶ βεβαιοτάτην παρ' αὐτῷ τὴν γνῶσιν. ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν εἰς ἄλλην δεσποτικοῦ θελήματος οἰκονομίαν (ἢ ἔθνους ἐπιστασίαν καὶ νομοθεσίαν ἢ λαοῦ δημαγωγίαν ἢ ἱερατικὴν προεδρίαν ἢ ὅρασιν προφητικὴν ἢ ἐνέργειαν τεραστικὴν ἢ χάριν ἀποστολικὴν ἢ ἄθλησιν μαρτυρικὴν ἢ συνελόντι φάναι διακονίαν πνευματικήν) προορισθέντες εὐκαίρως τὴν καθ' αὐτὸν [3] ἕκαστος πληροῦσιν. Γρηγόριος δὲ τὴν ἀνωτάτω θεολογίαν ἐμπεπιστευμένος καὶ τὸ τριαδικὸν μὲν τῶν προσώπων, μοναδικὸν δὲ τῆς θεότητος ἐκλάμψαι πάσῃ τῇ γῇ φωτιστικῶς ἀποσταλείς (εἰ καὶ τόπῳ βραχεῖ διὰ τὸ σῶμα περιώριστο, ἀλλὰ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τὰς τῆς θεολογίας ἀκτῖνας λαμπρῶς ἐπαφιείς), οὓς μὲν πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἐπεσπᾶτο τῆς ζωῆς ὅσοι τοῦ κρείττονος λόγου καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας, οὓς δὲ σκότου καὶ ἀπορίας ἐπλήρου καὶ συγχύσεως — οὐ παρὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν ἢ πρόθεσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν κακόνοιαν ἐκείνων — ὅσοι τῆς αἱρετικῆς ἀπωλείας ἐχρημάτιζον.

Ἔδει δὲ τοῦτον καὶ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης τῷ μυστηρίῳ τελεσθῆναι · τὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἀρχιερατικὴν [4] μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποστολικὴν διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐκπληροῦντα τάξιν καὶ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἔδει πάντως [5] καταρτίζεσθαι θεσμοθεσίαις [6]. ἔδει δὲ τοῦτο μὴ διὰ τῶν βεβήλων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἁγίων, μηδὲ διὰ τῶν ἀναξίων γίνεσθαι τοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος, οἳ καὶ θεότητα τέμνειν εἰς ἐκ-

[18] παρενευδοκιμήσειεν B.

11. — [1] Cf. *Ier.* 1, 5 // [2] τῶν add. B // [3] καθ' αὐτόν correxi : κατ' αὐτόν A B // [4] ἀρχιερατικόν (corr. ex -ήν?) A // [5] πάντας A // [6] νομοθεσίαις A

φύλους ἀλλοτριότητας τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν τῆς χάριτος πιστοτάτων οἰκονόμων καὶ τῆς τριάδος γνησιωτάτων λειτουργῶν · τούσδε τότε μὴ ἄλλους ἐκεῖ τυχὸν ἢ τὸν πατέρα τούτου, Γρηγόριον, καθεστάναι καὶ Βασίλειον, ὧν ὁ μὲν τὸν ὁμώνυμον καὶ ὁμότροπον υἱὸν εἰς ἀρχιερέα προθύμως προχειρίζεται, ὁ δὲ χειροθετεῖ, τῆς Καισαρέων ἤδη τοὺς οἴακας πεπιστευμένος, καὶ πνεῦμα προστίθησι τῷ πνεύματι καὶ χρῖσμα[7] προστίθησι τῷ χρίσματι · μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτοὶ μὲν τὸ ὁρώμενον τοῖς ἱεροῖς συμβόλοις τελειοῦσιν, τὸ πνεῦμα δὲ πάλαι τὸν ἴδιον σύμμαχον ἐπεγνωκὸς τέλειον μεμενήκει παρ' αὐτῷ. καὶ αὐτοὶ μέν, ἐπειδὴ χειροτονούμενον πόλει τινὶ πάντως ἔδει καὶ χώρᾳ κανονικῶς ἐπικληθῆναι, ξηρᾶς παροικίας καὶ στενῆς καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς οἴκησιν, μὴ ὅτι γε πρὸς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον, εὐφυῶς ἐχούσης ὡς ἴκανον, οἶμαι, τοῦτον ἐν λόγῳ τὸ ἐνδεὲς ἀναπληροῦν τῷ τόπῳ προεβάλοντο. τὸ πνεῦμα δ' ὡς ἔοικε θειοτέρας εἵνεκεν οἰκονομίας οὔτ' οὖν τὴν τοιαύτην αὐτῶν ἐπέσχεν ἐπιχείρησιν οὔτ' ἐπὶ μείζω θρόνον αὐτὸν τότε προχειρίζειν ἐδικαίωσεν · καὶ γὰρ εἴπερ ἀρχαίας προβέβλητο καὶ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτης ἐκκλησίας, ἐχρῆν ἴσως αὐτῇ βεβαίως ἱδρυθέντα μὴ ῥᾳδίως ἔχειν μετακινηθῆναι[8], τοῦ ἱεροῦ κανόνος τὴν μετάθεσιν ἀπαγορεύοντος, καὶ οὕτως ἂν ἡ κρατίστη τῶν πόλεων τὸν κράτιστον αὐτῆς ἐζημίωτο καὶ ἀρχιερέα καὶ ποιμένα.

Ἀμέλει τὸ σύνθημα μὲν τῆς ἱερᾶς τελεταρχίας βίᾳ μὲν καὶ αὐτό (καὶ γὰρ ἦν, εἴπερ τις ἀνθρώπων, ἀφιλότιμος), πλὴν ὡς ἐκ χειρὸς ὑψίστου λαβών, εἰδὼς δὲ τῷ πνεύματι πρὸς τί τοῦτον ἔργον ἡ θεία χάρις ἀφορίζει, πάντη μὲν τῶν Σασίμων ἀπείπατο τὴν παροικίαν · ἱερῶν δὲ τέως πατέρων εὐλάβειαν καὶ τὸ πατρικὸν ποίμνιον λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις ποιμαντικῆς ἐπιστήμης συγκροτῶν καὶ ὥσπερ γυμνασίᾳ τινὶ καὶ προπαρασκευῇ τῇ κατὰ τὴν πατρίδα χρώμενος ἐπισκοπῇ, πρὸς τὴν τῆς βασιλίδος, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἐπιστασίαν εὐτρεπίζεται. καὶ τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τῆς ἄνω τελειότητος δεξάμενος, ἐπειγομένῳ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐῴκει καὶ διὰ μακροθυμίας τῶν θείων ἐπαγγελιῶν ἐπελαμβάνετο.

Ἁβραὰμ μὲν οὖν ὁ ἐν πατριάρχαις περίβλεπτος τρεῖς ἄνδρας εἰς τύπον ξενίζων τῆς τριάδος, μᾶλλον δὲ τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν μορφῇ τὴν τριάδα προσεληλυθυῖαν ὑπὸ δρυὶ καταψύχων

[7] χρίσμασι A // [8] μετακινηθέντα A

καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος, εὐλογιῶν πρὸς θεοῦ καταξιοῦται καὶ ἐπαγγελίαν ἐπέραστον ἐκείνης ἀντιλαμβάνει τῆς ξενίας. τίς οὖν ἡ ἐπαγγελία; Σάρρας ὑπὲρ ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν καὶ ἡλικίαν τοκετός, καὶ σπέρματος μὲν κατὰ τὰ ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῷ πλήθει πληθυσμός, γῆς δὲ ἀγαθῆς κληρονομία καὶ κατάσχεσις. οὗτος δὲ οὐ τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ πρόσωπα τρία τῆς θεότητος οὐδὲ τύπον τριάδος ἀλλ' αὐτὴν εἰλικρινῶς ὑποδεδεγμένος τὴν τριάδα (καὶ ταύτην οὐχ ἅπαξ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσαν, ἀεὶ δὲ τούτῳ μυστικώτατα συνοῦσαν), οὐκ ἀλόγοις τροφαῖς, λόγοις δὲ ζῶσι καὶ λογισμοῖς ἀληθινοῖς καὶ αὐτῆς ὄντως ἀξίοις[9] *τῆς τριάδος λαμπρῶς ἑστιᾷ καὶ φιλοτίμως· οὐδ' ὑπὸ δένδρου καταψύχων σκιᾷ, ἀλλ'*[10] *ὑπὸ τῷ βάθει τῶν ὑπερφυῶν θεαμάτων καταπαύων, εὐλογιῶν τε κρειττόνων καὶ ἀδιαπτώτων ἐπαγγελιῶν καταξιοῦται. τέκνων γὰρ πληθυσμόν, οὐ σαρκικῶν ἀλλὰ πνευματικῶν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ὁρωμένοις ἄστρασιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς νοουμένοις τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῇ ὡραιότητι προσεοικότων, οὐδὲ κατάσχεσιν γῆς τῆς ὑπ' ἀνόμων ἐθνῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλων πατουμένης, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν πραέων — τῆς ἐπουρανίου φημὶ — κατασχέσεως ἀληθεστάτας ἐπαγγελίας ὑποδέδεκται.*

Καὶ ὁ μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν πρωτότοκον καὶ εἰς ὃν ἡ ἐπαγγελία ἐφ' ἓν τῶν ὀρέων ἀνοίσειν θῦμα πειραζόμενος, οὐκ ἐμέλλησε πρὸς τὴν ἐπίταξιν, οὐκ ἐνεδύασε πρὸς τὴν ἐγχείρησιν, οὐκ ἐνάρκησε χεῖρα καὶ μάχαιραν — ὢ τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας, μᾶλλον δὲ φιλοθεΐας — ἐπενέγκαι τῷ φιλτάτῳ, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ξένην ἐκείνην ἱερουργίαν ἐπεσχέθη, κριοῦ παραυτίκα δεθέντος[11] *εἰς λογικοῦ θύματος ἀντάμειψιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ προσενήνεκται τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ καὶ πατρικαῖς τετελείωται χερσὶν ὁλόκληρον θῦμα καὶ θύτης καινῆς θυσίας διὰ τῆς ἱερωσύνης, προσαγόμενος οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς δὲ μόνον, πολὺ δὲ πρῶτον ἐκ βρέφους ἑαυτὸν ἀνενεγκών, οὐκ ἐπί τι φαινόμενον ὄρος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀναστημάτων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὕψος ἀπαθείας. καὶ χερσὶν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ πρώτου παρασχόμενος ἀρχιερέως, οὐκ ἀφεῖται καθάπερ Ἰσαάκ, ἀλλὰ διχοτομεῖται, πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν κατὰ σάρκα θανατούμενος, μόνην δὲ τὴν ἐν πνεύματι ζωοποιούμενος*[12] *ζωήν, καὶ τῆς κάτω μὲν κληρονομίας ὡς ῥεούσης ἐξιστάμενος, πρὸς τὰς ἄνω δὲ καὶ ἀρρεύστους τὸ πολίτευμα*

[9] *ἀξίους* B // [10] *οὐδ'* A // [11] *δοθέντος* A ; cf. *Gen.* 22, 13 // [12] *ζωούμενος* A

μετατιθέμενος καὶ τῶν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας υἱῶν ἀπαρχὴ καλλίστη καὶ τιμιωτάτη καθιστάμενος.

Τίς μὲν γὰρ[13] *ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν*[14] *νοερὸν οὕτω καὶ πῖον ὁλοκαύτωμα τῷ πρώτῳ νῷ καὶ θεῷ κατὰ τὸ νοερώτατον ἀνενήνοχε θυσιαστήριον; τίς δὲ λογικὸν θῦμα καὶ ἄμωμον τῷ ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων τυθέντι λόγῳ προσενήνοχεν; τίς δὲ θυσίαν οὕτω ζῶσαν, ἁγίαν, εὐάρεστον*[15] *τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα καὶ πνεῦμα τῷ κυρίῳ πνεύματι παρέστησεν; τίς μὲν οὕτω πρότερον τήν τε σάρκα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἁγιασθείς, μετὰ τοῦτο τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερουργὸς ἁγιάσματος προβέβληται; τίς δὲ τῆς ἀνωτάτω κατηξιωμένος*[16] *πρότερον υἱοθεσίας, οὕτως υἱοθετεῖν ἑτέρους τῷ πατρὶ τῶν πνευμάτων προκεχείρισται;*

12. Gregory's Work as Bishop at Nazianzus: Comparison of Gregory with Jacob.

Ποῖον μὲν εἶδος ποιμαντικῆς ἐπιστήμης, ποῖον δὲ ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἐνεργῶς ἐπῆλθεν; ποῖον δὲ λόγοις θεηγορίας οὐκ ἐξεκάλυψε σαφέστατα, ὡς μᾶλλον μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον θαυμάζεσθαι τῆς πράξεως, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν ὑπερθαυμάζεσθαι τοῦ λόγου; τίς μὲν οὕτω λαμπρὸς τὸν λόγον καὶ σεμνός, οὕτως εὐκρινὴς καὶ περικαλλής, οὕτως ἀληθὴς καὶ ἐναργὴς ὡς ὁρᾶν οἴεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀκούειν πᾶν τὸ λαλούμενον, ἤτοι θεολογούμενον, αὐτῷ; μᾶλλον δὲ τίς οὕτω θεόπνευστος καὶ τοῖς τῆς χάριτος κατηρτυμένος ἅλσιν ὡς πᾶσαν μὲν κακίας καὶ δυσώδους αἱρέσεως ἀναξηραίνειν σηπεδόνα, πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἔκλυτον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἠθῶν καὶ διαρρέον εἰς βεβηκυῖαν γνώμης εὐστάθειαν καὶ λογισμῶν ὑγιῶν σταθερότητα μεταποιεῖν; τίς μὲν ἐκείνου μᾶλλον — μετὰ τὸν ἀρχιποίμενα — καλὸς ποιμὴν τῇ τοῦ λόγου σύριγγι πρός τε νομὰς ἐξελαύνων ἀγαθὰς καὶ πρὸς ἐπαύλεις εἰσελαύνων χρηστάς; τίς δὲ χρηστὸς οὕτω καὶ εὐμήχανος ὥστ'[1] *εἰδέναι πιᾶναί τε τὸ ποίμνιον καὶ πολυπλασιάσαι, ὡς πόρρω δὲ τῆς τῶν λύκων θηριωδίας περισώσασθαι;*

Ἰακὼβ μὲν ἐκεῖνος ὁ τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ τοῖς τῶν βρωμάτων ἡδίστοις τὸν πατέρα δεξιούμενος τὴν τῶν εὐλογιῶν ἐπεσπάσατο προτίμησιν. εἶτα τὴν Ἠσαῦ μιαιφόνον διαδιδράσκων βασκα-

[13] *οὖν* A // [14] om. A // [15] *Rom.* 12, 1 // [16] *καταξιούμενος* A.
12. — [1] *ὡς* A

νίαν, δεξιοῖς μὲν ἐνυπνίοις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οὐρανομήκη κλίμακα περιετύγχανεν· δεξιᾷ δὲ χρησάμενος πορείᾳ καὶ πρὸς τὴν μητρῴαν ἑστίαν παραβύσας, κακοπαθεῖ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν θυγατέρων Λαβάν, κακοπαθεῖ δὲ περὶ τὴν τῶν θρεμμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ κτῆσιν. ῥάβδους δὲ τρεῖς πρὸς ταῖς ληνοῖς τῶν ποτιστηρίων παραθεὶς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων χρόαν ὁρᾶν τε τὰ θρέμματα καὶ ἐγκισσᾶν παρασκευάζων, πλείω μὲν τῶν ἀσήμων ποιεῖται τὰ ἐπίσημα. τούτοις δὲ τὸν Σύρον παρακρουσάμενος ἐκεῖνον, ἑαυτῷ δὲ περιουσίαν εὐμηχάνως περιποιησάμενος, οὕτως ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις τοῦ μὲν ἀπέδρα, ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ δ' ἐνετύγχανε παρεμβολαῖς. εἶτα πάλῃ χρησάμενος πρὸς τὸν ὀφθέντα θεόν (δι' οὗ καὶ τῆς Ἰσραὴλ μεταπεποίηται προσηγορίας), οὕτω πάντων μὲν ἀπήλλακται δυσχερῶν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν πατρῴαν ἑστίαν εὐθύμως ἐπανῆκεν.

Τί δαὶ [2] ὁ Γρηγόριος; ἆρ' οὐχὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῆς θεολογίας δόγμασιν ἐδεξιοῦτο μὲν τὴν θεαρχίαν, τὸν πρεσβύτερον δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ μεμισημένον Ἄρειον παρευδοκιμηκὼς τῶν πατρικῶν καὶ θείων εὐμοίρηκεν εὐλογιῶν; ἆρ' οὐχὶ καὶ οὗτος τὴν ἐκείνου μιαιφονίαν δραπετεύων πρὸς τὴν μητρῴαν οἰκίαν, τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, μετῳκίζετο; οὐ κλίμακι γῆθεν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐπαιρομένῃ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀνῳκοδομημένῃ [3] πρότερον προσέβαλεν; οὐ δι' αὐτῆς θεοῦ τοῦ ἐπεστηριγμένου καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀνιόντων καὶ κατιόντων ἀγγέλων μεμυσταγώγηται τὴν θεωρίαν; κακοπαθεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος, ἀλλ' οὐ γυναικῶν ἕνεκεν μαραινομένης ὡραιότητος, οὐ κάλλους πρὸς ὥραν ἀνθοῦντος καὶ ῥᾷον ἀπανθοῦντος [4], βραχὺ τέρποντος καὶ θᾶττον ἀπολήγοντος, οὐδὲ παρὰ τῷ Λαβάν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐκγόνῳ τούτου Μωϋσεῖ. κακοπαθεῖ δ' ὥστε τῶν δύο τούτου θυγατέρων, τῆς παλαιᾶς λέγω καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης, ἐν τελειοτάτῃ καταστῆναι γνώσει. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τυγχάνει τούτων, πρῶτον μὲν τῆς πρεσβυτέρας, ἔπειτα τῆς νεωτέρας. ἔδει γὰρ ἴσως τῷ γράμματι πρότερον τοῦ νόμου, εἶθ' οὕτως τῷ πνεύματι προσομιλεῖν· ἔδει τὸν πρόχειρον [5] νοῦν τῆς παλαιᾶς γραφῆς — τὸν οὐ πάνυ περικαλλῆ τὴν ὄψιν — γνησίως πρῶτον μετελθόντα, οὕτως τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ [6] μὲν εἰς βάθος κεκρυμμένον, ἐν δὲ τῷ τῆς χάριτος εὐαγγελίῳ

[2] δέ A // [3] ἀνοικοδομουμένη A // [4] καὶ ῥ. ἀπ. A : om. B // [5] πρότερον A // [6] ἐν αὐτῷ B : ἑαυτῷ A

πεφανερωμένον — τὸν ὡραῖόν φημι καὶ πανευπρεπῆ, τὴν θεωρίαν τῆς οἰκονομίας τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου — λόγον γνῶναί τε[7] *σαφῶς καὶ ἀγαπῆσαι καὶ τοῦτον προθέσει καρδίας περιπτύξασθαι.*

Ταύταις δὴ ταῖς δυσὶ διαθήκαις οἷα γνησίαις κεχρημένος γαμεταῖς τέκνα πληθύει τῷ πατρί· τέκνα νοερῶς ὠδίνων ἐν πνεύματι κληρονόμα τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν ἀποτίκτει τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ οὐ τέκνων μόνον γεννήσεως τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων τε καὶ πνευματικωτέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνδραπόδων κτήσεως τῶν σωματικωτέρων ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ ταπεινοτέρων. τούτοις γὰρ ἀναλόγως ἐκείνῳ τὸν πνευματικὸν ἑαυτῷ καὶ πανακήρατον παρασκευάζει πλοῦτον. σμικρὰς γὰρ καὶ οὗτος εὐαριθμήτων θρεμμάτων ἀγέλας πιστευθείς, ἐπιστήμῃ δὲ καὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ πληθύνας ὑπὲρ ἀριθμόν, εἶτα συνιδὼν μὴ πάντας αὐτῷ δίδοσθαι μισθὸν πρὸς τὴν πατρῴαν συνανελθεῖν οἰκίαν[8] *(οὐ γὰρ τοὺς κλητοὺς ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀσήμους ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπισήμους συνῆχθαι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου κατεσφραγίσθαι*[9] *θησαυροῖς), τί μηχανᾶται; μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς τίνα νοῦν ὑποφέρεται παρὰ τοῦ μὴ ὄναρ, ὕπαρ δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ὑποδεικνύντος; τρεῖς μὲν ὑποστάσεις μιᾶς θεότητος ἀντὶ τῶν ῥάβδων ἐκείνων ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις (ταύτας γὰρ αἱ ληνοὶ σαφῶς τῶν ποτιστηρίων προετύπουν) λόγῳ προτιθείς, πρὸς ταύτας δὲ κατὰ νοῦν ὁρῶντας τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐγκυμονεῖν παρεγγυῶν, λόγον τῆς ἀρίστης οἰκεῖον θεωρίας, λόγον σωτήριον τίκτειν παρεσκεύαζε, δι' οὗ πρὸς τὰς ἄνω μάνδρας ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ ποιμένι καλῷ καὶ προνοητικωτάτῳ παραπέμπεσθαι.*

Ὃς τὸν παντοδαπὸν ἐκ γῆς περιουσιασμὸν ὃν αὐτῷ σοφίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ περιπεποίηται λαβὼν καὶ τὸν βάσκανον λαθὼν[10]*, καὶ τέως μὲν διὰ πίστεως, οὐ διὰ εἴδους, παρεμβολαῖς ἀγγελικῶν δεξιούμενος, ἤτοι δορυφορούμενος, δυνάμεων, τῷ θεανθρώπῳ δὲ νοερῶς ἐν τῷ πνεύματι προσπλακεὶς καὶ νῦν*[11] *ὄντως θεὸν ὁρῶν, οὐ κληθεὶς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ γενόμενος δι' αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τὰς ἄνω καὶ τὰς πατρικὰς ἀκινδύνως μετέβαινε σκηνάς.*

[7] om. A // [8] *συνανελθεῖν οἰκίαν* B : *συνελθεῖν ἑστίαν* A // [9] *κατασφραγίσθαι* B // [10] *καὶ . . . λαθών* A : om. B // [11] *νῦν* correxi : *νοῦς* A B.

13. Gregory Leaves Nazianzus for Constantinople, where Various Heresies are Rampant.

Αὕτη γίνεται τῷ θεολόγῳ σοφίας τε καὶ φρονήσεως ἐπίδειξις. τοῦτο τὸ λῆμα τῆς κατὰ τῶν αἱρετικῶν ἀνδραγαθίας δεξιὸν ἐνστησάμενος προοίμιον, οὕτω πρὸς τοὺς τελειοτέρους ἀγῶνας καὶ δυσαντιβλέπτους ἀποδύεται. καὶ καθάπερ οἱ δυσμαχώτατοι τῶν ἀθλητῶν οὐκ ἐκ πρώτης πείρας εὐθὺς τοῖς ἰσχυροτέροις συμπλέκονται τῶν ἀντιπάλων, τοῖς ἥττοσι δὲ προγυμνασθέντες καὶ πρὸς τὰς μείζους ἀρκούντως παιδοτριβηθέντες ἀγωνίας οὕτω παρασκευάζονται πρὸς τοὺς δυνατωτάτους, τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ[1] *τρόπον καὶ οὗτος τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πατρίδα πρότερον ἀσεβοῦσι συμπλακεὶς καὶ ταῖς κατ' αὐτῶν λογικαῖς πάλαις καὶ νίκαις ἀγωνιστικῆς εὐτονίας καὶ πολυπειρίας μετασχών, εἶτα τοῖς πατράσι μὲν δεξιῷ τέλει τὸν βίον κατακλείσασι τόν τ' ἔπαινον καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἀφοσιωσάμενος ὁσίαν, τὸ πατρικὸν δὲ ποίμνιον ὡς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ*[2] *μάνδρᾳ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κατασφαλισάμενος θεολογίᾳ καὶ εἰς χεῖρας τῷ ἀρχιποίμενι λιπών, αὐτὸς πρὸς ἀργαλεωτέρους τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόγου κονίζεται κινδύνους. καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν ὀλίγῳ πιστὸς ἀποδειχθεὶς πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν εὐτρεπίζεται προμήθειαν, καὶ τὴν Ναζιανζὸν καταλιπὼν κατευθὺ τῆς βασιλίδος τῶν πόλεων τείνει τὴν ὁρμήν· περὶ ἣν πολὺς μὲν τότε καὶ δεινὸς ὁ τῶν αἱρέσεων ζόφος ἐπεπόλαζεν κατ' ἀλλήλων τε συρρηγνυμένων καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας βιαίως παραταττομένων (πέφυκε γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ πᾶν ἡ κακία οὐ τῇ ἀρετῇ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτῇ πικρῶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι), πολὺς δὲ τοῖς ὀρθοδόξοις ἐπέκειτο χειμὼν καί τις αὐτοῖς μυρία κατακέχυτο πάντοθεν ἀμηχανία, μή τινα τὸν προαγωνιστὴν τοῦ λόγου κεκτημένοις καὶ πρόμαχον*[3].

Ἦν οὖν ὁρᾶν καθάπερ ἐν μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀχανεῖ πελάγει σφοδροτάτας ἐμπτώσεις τῶν ἀνέμων, οἳ τέως μὲν ἔτι πραϋτέραις πνοαῖς διαδονοῦσί τε καὶ στροβοῦσι — ἠρέμα μὲν τὸ κῦμα κορυφοῦντες, οὔπω δὲ παρασκευάζοντες τὴν ἔκρηξιν —, ἐξαπιναίως δὲ λαίλαπος τρόπον ἑκατέρωθεν κατ' ἀλλήλων συρρηγνύμενοι[4] *ἀνοιδοῦσί τε καὶ καταθραύουσι τὸν πόντον ταῖς ἀνυποστάτοις*[5] *βίαις, τῶν κυμάτων μὲν ἀνασπωμένων*

13. — [1] om. B // [2] *ἀσφαλείας* A // [3] *ὑπέρμαχον* A // [4] *-μένων* A // [5] *-στάταις* B

καὶ κατασπωμένων[6], *τῶν ἐναπειλημμένων δὲ πλοίων συνανασπωμένων τε καὶ συγκατασπωμένων καὶ τούτοις ὑποβρυχίων γινομένων. τοιοῦτός τις τότε χειμὼν τὴν Κωνσταντίνου κατειλήφει, τῶν τῆς πονηρίας πνευμάτων τὰς ἀντιθέτους γλώσσας καὶ γνώμας κατ' ἀλλήλων διορθυνόντων, σφοδραῖς δὲ γλωσσαλγίαις καὶ κακομηχάνοις ἔρισι καταθραύειν τε πάντων ἀλλήλους καὶ καθαιρεῖν ἀπαυθαδιζομένων*[7] · *εἰ δὲ τί που*[8] *μέρος τῆς ὀρθῆς ἀντεχόμενον πίστεως ἐλείπετο, καὶ τοῦτο συμπνῖξαι καὶ βυθοῖς παραπέμψειν ἐφιλονείκουν ἀπωλείας.*

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Σαβελλίου τοῦ Λίβυος ἐκδεξάμενοι τὴν σύγχυσιν καὶ συναιρέσεως μὲν ὑπερβολῇ, ἐλλείψει δὲ διαιρέσεως ἀλόγως κεχρημένοι, τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὀνόματι τιμῶσι μόνον, τὰ δι' αὐτῶν ἀτιμοῦντες σημαινόμενα · καὶ ψιλὰς αὐτὰ προσηγορίας καὶ ἀνυποστάτους ὑπολογιζόμενοι, ὄντως ἀνυπόστατον καὶ κενὴν ἑαυτοῖς πίστιν ἀναπλάττουσιν, εἰς Ἰουδαϊκὴν περιπίπτοντες μοναρχίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν. οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἀρείου μανίαν ὑποδεδεγμένοι καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐκ διαμέτρου μὲν τὴν γνώμην, ὁμοτίμως δὲ τὴν ἀσέβειαν κεχωρηκότες, ἐν οἷς ἐκεῖνοι τὴν συναίρεσιν, οὗτοι τὴν διαίρεσιν ἀσεβοῦντες ὑπερβάλλουσι. ὥσπερ οὖν ἐκεῖνοι μίαν τε φύσιν θεότητος καὶ ἓν πρόσωπον ὑπονοοῦντες τῆς ἀληθείας ἠλλοτρίωνται, οὕτως οὗτοι πρὸς τῇ[9] *τῶν ὑποστάσεων τριάδι καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἑλληνικῶς καὶ ἀθέως εἰσηγούμενοι διαίρεσιν, ἀλλοτριοῦσι μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ ἑαυτῶν ἀλλοτριοῦσι (ἀνίσοις βαθμοῖς καὶ ἀναξίοις πάντῃ τῆς θεότητος, τοῦ πατρὸς μὲν τὸν υἱὸν ὑποβιβάζοντες, τοῦ υἱοῦ δὲ τὴν δόξαν ὑποστέλλοντες τοῦ πνεύματος), μᾶλλον δὲ ἑαυτοὺς τῆς μιᾶς καὶ μόνης θεότητος ἀποξενοῦντες ἐκφύλοις καὶ ἀλλοκότοις δόξαις κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐνδίκως παροτρύνονται.*

Τοὺς γὰρ τῆς μεσότητος ἀποσφαλέντας καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐκκλίναντας πορείαν, ἐν ᾗ καθάπερ ἀρετὴ πᾶσα, οὕτω καὶ πίστις ἡ ἀμώμητος καὶ καθαρὰ συνίσταται καὶ θεωρεῖται, εἰκὸς ἦν ἤδη πρὸς ἀμετρίαν πεσεῖν ὑπερβολαῖς καὶ ἐλλείψεσι προσεσχηκότας καὶ τέλος πρὸς ἐναντιότητα καὶ ἔχθραν χωρεῖν · ὃ δὴ καθάπερ οὗτοι περὶ τὴν τριαδικὴν θεολογίαν,

[6] *καὶ κατασπωμένων* B : om. A // [7] *ἀπαυθαδιαζομένων* A // [8] *τί που* B : *πού τι* A // [9] *τὴν* B

οὕτως ἕτεροι πάλιν περὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου λέγονται παθεῖν· οἱ μὲν εἰς δύο υἱῶν ὑπόνοιαν τῷ διττῷ τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ φύσεων ὑποφερόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πρὸς μίαν φύσιν αὐτὸν τῷ τοῦ προσώπου συγχέοντες ἑνοειδεῖ, δέον ἐν ὅροις ἑστῶτας τοῦ καλοῦ κἀκεῖ τε ὁμοίως κἀνταῦθα καὶ διαιρεῖν ὁμοῦ καὶ συναιρεῖν τὸ μὲν τῷ ἀριθμῷ, τὸ δὲ τῇ φύσει. ὑπερβολὴ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἐλλείψει, ἔλλειψις δ' ἐναντία τῇ ὑπερβολῇ· ἀσυμμετρία[10] *δὲ ἄμφω, καὶ ὡς κακίᾳ μιᾷ λαμβανόμεναι τῇ κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν τῆς μεσότητος ἑστώσῃ λόγον συμμετρίᾳ μάχονται ὡς ἀρετῇ. οὕτως οὐ τῇ ὀρθῇ δόξῃ μόνον ἡ διεστραμμένη ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ σκολιᾷ πέφυκεν ἐναντιοῦσθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοιούτοις ἑαλωκότες ἀτοπήμασιν οὕτω κατ' ἀλλήλων καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας συνερρήγνυντο.*

Ἦσαν δ' οἳ τῷ μὲν υἱῷ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα συνεμαρτύρουν συμφυΐαν, τὸ πνεῦμα δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀποξενοῦντες συνθείας ἐλεύθερον, οἱ δὲ καὶ δοῦλον βλασφημεῖν ἐτόλμων. ἄλλος οὗτος τρόπος αἱρέσεως. τὴν γὰρ Ἀπολλιναρίου ἄνοιαν τί ἂν εἴποιμι τοῦ Σύρου σάρκα μὲν ἀνειληφέναι τὸν λόγον ὑποτιθεμένου, ἄψυχον δὲ ταύτην καὶ ἄνουν ἀνοητῶς δογματίζοντος;

14. Arrival and Reception at Constantinople.

Ταύταις δὴ καὶ ἄλλαις ὅτι μάλιστα πλείσταις καὶ κακίσταις, καθάπερ θυέλλαις ἀγρίαις, τῇ βασιλίδι χειμαζομένῃ δόξαις οἷά τις ἄριστος κυβερνήτης ὁ θαυμάσιος οὗτος θεόθεν ἐφίσταται Γρηγόριος. καὶ ὥσπερ Ἰησοῦς πρότερον ὁ κύριος τοῖς ἐν πελάγει καὶ νυκτὶ καὶ πλοίῳ βασανιζομένοις τῶν μαθητῶν ἐπιφανείς, ὁμοῦ τῇ παρουσίᾳ πραΰνει μὲν τὸν ὄγκον τῶν κυμάτων, ἐπιτιμᾷ δὲ τοῖς πνεύμασιν, καὶ τὴν καταιγίδα τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς εὐσταθῆ γαλήνην μετατίθησιν· οὕτως ὁ γνήσιος ὄντως μαθητὴς καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐφικτὸν ἐκείνου μιμητὴς σὺν ἐκείνῳ τοῖς νοητῶς κλυδωνιζομένοις ἐπιφάνας ἐπιτάττει μὲν τῇ καταιγίδι, ἵσταται δὲ εἰς αὔραν, καὶ σιγᾷ τὰ κύματα αὐτῆς[1].

Καὶ τίνα τρόπον; ἐνταῦθά μοι τὸ τοῦ διηγήματος ἐπέραστον. εἰσήλαυνε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον, οὐ δορυφόρων

[10] ἀσυμμετρίαι A.

14. — [1] Cf. *Ps.* 106, 29

σμῆνος ἐπαγόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐν κύκλῳ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς δορυφορούμενος, οὐ χρυσόν, οὐκ ἄργυρον οὐδὲ χαλκὸν εἰς τὴν ζώνην περικείμενος, ἀλλὰ πίστιν, ἐλπίδα καὶ ἀγάπην ὡς ὑπερκόσμιον κόσμον ταινιούμενος, οὐ πολυτελεῖς ἐσθῆτας, οὐ σκευαγαγῶν πλῆθος ἡμιόνων, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδέν — οὐ μικρόν, οὐ μέγα — ἃ[2] *τοὺς φιλοκόμπους ἔθος ἐστὶ καὶ σαρκὸς κομίζεσθαι θεραπευτὰς ἐπιφερόμενος, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἰησοῦ σοφίαν καὶ λειότητα καὶ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἀπεριττότητα καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἄσκευον ἑτοιμασίαν. οὕτως οὖν καὶ μετὰ τοιαύτης ἐπιδημήσας τῆς παρασκευῆς οἵας ἐχρῆν τὸν ἀποστολικῆς ἔργον διακονίας ἐγκεχειρισμένον, πρῶτον μὲν ξεναγεῖται παρά τισι τῶν οἰκείων κατὰ σῶμα*[3]*, οἰκείων κατὰ πνεῦμα· ξεναγεῖται πρὸς τῷ μικρῷ τῆς μεγάλης Ἀναστασίας οἴκῳ, ὃς δὴ μόνος — δι' εὐτέλειαν ἴσως — τότε*[4] *τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς ὑπερεωραμένος τῷ μικρῷ τῶν εὐσεβεῖν ἑλομένων ἀφιερῶτο πληρώματι· Ἀναστασίας δὲ λέγω τῆς περιφανοῦς καὶ ἡμετέρας, τῆς παρθενικῆς τὸ σῶμα, παρθενικῆς τὸ πνεῦμα· Ἀναστασίας τῆς μέγα μὲν πάλαι τρόπαιον κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου διὰ τῆς ὑπερφυοῦς μαρτυρίας ἀναστησαμένης, μεῖζον δὲ διὰ τοῦ θεολόγου κατὰ τῶν ποικίλων αἱρέσεων ἐξεγειράσης, καὶ καταγωνισαμένης μὲν ἅπαν τὸ ἐριστικόν τε καὶ φιλόνεικον, λαμπροτάτην δὲ νίκην τοῖς ὀρθοδοξοῦσι ἐπιβραβευσάσης.*

15. Gregory Aids the Orthodox.

Καὶ γὰρ τὸ φαινόμενον μὲν τῷ φαινομένῳ ταύτης ναῷ (ἀκαλλεῖ μὲν τότε καθεστηκότι καὶ βραχεῖ, εἰς κάλλος δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ μέγεθος ἐγηγερμένῳ· οὗτός ἐστιν ὃς τὴν τοῦ θεολόγου διακεκλήρωται νῦν ἐπωνυμίαν) ἐν ἑαυτῷ[1] *προσερεισθεὶς ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, τὸ νοούμενον δὲ αὐτῇ καθαρῶς τῇ ἀναστάσει Χριστῷ διὰ τῆς Ἀναστασίας ἐνιδρυθείς, ἐν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἰδίους στηρίζει περιτρεπομένους, ἀνορθοῖ καταρρηγνυμένους, βεβαιοῖ κλονουμένους*[2]*, καὶ ταῖς τῶν διωκτῶν ἐπιθέσεσι μόλις ἐμπνέοντας καταλαβὼν ζωτικῆς ἐνεργείας καὶ δυνάμεως ἐμπίμπλησιν. τῷ εὐθεῖ γὰρ λόγῳ καθάπερ εἰλικρινεστάτῳ σίτῳ ψυχὰς πεινώσας ἐμπίμπλησιν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ*

[2] *τῶν ἃ* A // [3] *οἰκ. κατὰ σῶμα* om. B // [4] om. B.

15. — [1] *αὐτῷ* B // [2] *κλονομένους* B

τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ τῆς παναμωμήτου θεολογίας ἄρτῳ [3] τὰς πολυχρονίῳ λιμῷ τακείσας καρδίας διατρέφων ἀνακτᾶται.

Ἰωσὴφ μὲν ὁ ζηλωτὸς ἐκεῖνος φθόνῳ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἀπεμποληθείς, καὶ μαγγανείαις ἀκολάστου δεσποίνης μὴ κεπφωθεὶς τὸν νοῦν [4], ἀλλὰ εἱρκτῆς ὀχυρώματι σωφροσύνης ἕνεκεν περιβληθείς, ταῖς δεξιαῖς [5] συγκρίσεσι τῶν ὁραμάτων ἄρχων μὲν πάσης Αἰγύπτου, σιτοδότης δὲ καὶ τροφεὺς οὐκ Αἰγύπτου μόνον, ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῆς ὑπερορίου κεχρημάτικεν. Γρηγόριος δὲ οὐκ ἀδελφικῇ βασκανίᾳ προδοθείς, Βασιλείου δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων τῆς πίστεως [6] εἴξας παραινέσεσι, μᾶλλον δὲ κρείττοσιν ἐπιδεδημηκὼς οἰκονομίαις, οὐχ ὑπὸ πονηρᾷ πέπραται δεσποίνῃ, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν δυστροπίας σαφῶς ἐπιβουλεύεται· καὶ ταῖς ποικίλαις αὐτῶν ἐνέδραις ὡς εἱρκταῖς περιπεσὼν καὶ λόγοις σοφίας κρείττονος τὰς τῶν θηρευόντων πάγας συντριβείσας διάδρας, οὐ χώρας ἢ πόλεως μιᾶς, διὰ μιᾶς δὲ πόλεως τῆς ὑφ' ἡλίῳ πάσης εὐεργέτης ἀναδείκνυται. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀπολλυμένης βρώσεως, οὗτος δὲ τῆς εἰς ζωὴν μενούσης αἰώνιον ταμίας ἀναδείκνυται φιλότιμος [7]· καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐ σωματικῆς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς καιρόν, καὶ ταῦτα τιμῆς ἐξιώμενος [8] τὴν σιτοδείαν, ὁ δὲ οὐ τῆς πνευματικῆς μόνον καὶ ψυχὰς συνεχούσης ἑστιατορίας ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' αἰῶνος δαψιλὴς ἑστιάτωρ ἀποδείκνυται, ἄφθονός τε καὶ ἄμισθος πρόκειται τοῖς καλῶς πεινῶσι πανδαισία. ὅσῳ τοίνυν ὁ νοῦς τιμιώτερος αἰσθήσεως, τοσούτῳ βελτίων ἐκείνης ἡ κατὰ τοῦτον, οἶμαι, κριθήσεται παρά γε τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι σιτοδοσία.

16. Gregory Opposes the Heterodox.

Ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως τοιοῦτος ὢν ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος τοιοῦτον ἀεὶ παρεῖχεν ἑαυτόν. οἷος δὲ διέκειτο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, καὶ ὅσοις ὑπὲρ τῆς [1] ἀληθείας πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις, ἡλίκοις δὲ καὶ ἀγῶσι διὰ τὴν τριάδα περιέπιπτεν, ὢ πῶς ἀξίως τῷ λόγῳ παραστήσαιμι; ὢ πῶς ἄν τι καίριον εἴποιμι καὶ μὴ πάνυ κατόπιν ἔλθοιμι τῆς ἀλη-

[3] *παναμωμήτου . . . ἄρτῳ* B : *ἄρτῳ καὶ ἀμωμήτου* A // [4] *τὸν νοῦν μὴ κεμφωθεὶς* B // [5] *δεξιοῖς* B // [6] *τῆς πίστεως* B : om. A // [7] *φιλοτίμως* A // [8] *ἠξιωμένος* A.

16. — [1] om. B.

θείας; πῶς δὲ μὴ τὰ ἐκείνου πάντα πειρώμενος διεξιέναι προσκορῆ ποιήσαιμι τὸν λόγον; ἢ πῶς τὰ πλείω παρεῖναι θέλων οὐ λίαν τοὺς ἐμοὺς νομισθείην ἀδικεῖν ἀκροατάς, μόνης δὲ ἄρα τῆς ἐκείνου δεῖσθαι φωνῆς καὶ διανοίας διὰ βραχέων πλεῖστα παριστᾶν; ἐκείνου [2] *γὰρ ὥσπερ τὸ οὕτω μεγαλοφυῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως ἀγωνίσασθαι, οὕτω καὶ τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς τῶν ἀγώνων τῇ μεγαλοφυΐᾳ τοῦ λόγου παραστῆσαι.*

Ἤδη μὲν οὖν οἱ κάκιστοι τῶν δαιμονίων (τῆς ἑλληνικῆς τερθρείας καὶ πλάνης καὶ τῶν μιαρῶν ὀργίων καὶ πάσης ἀνοσιουργίας δι' ἀποστόλων τε θείων καὶ ἀθλοφορικῶν ἀνδραγαθημάτων παυσαμένων, καὶ τοῦ ζόφου μὲν τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας ἐξαρθέντος, τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ δὲ τῆς πίστεως φωτὸς πᾶσαν διαυγάσαντος εὐθεῖαν ψυχήν), ἐπεὶ μηκέτι διὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων εἶχον τοῖς εὐσεβοῦσι πολεμεῖν, αὐτοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλων Χριστιανοὺς ἐπανιστάντες, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ σαθρότερον ἢ κουφότερον [3] *παρασύροντες τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτο λόγοις κατεφθαρμένοις κατὰ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου μέρους συγκροτοῦντες, εἰς ἔριν πικρὰν* [4] *καὶ δυσμαχωτάτην ἀντικατατείνουσι φιλονεικίαν. πανουργίᾳ δὲ χρώμενοι καὶ θράσει, τῇ μὲν πιθανολογίαις* [5] *ὑποποιοῦνται τοὺς ἀλογωτέρους, τῷ δὲ τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις ἐπεμβαίνοντες καὶ τῷ φόβῳ καταπλήσσοντες τῆς ἰταμότητος ταῖς αὐτῶν ὑποκατακλίνειν πειρῶνται δυσσεβείαις.*

Τί οὖν ὁ πολὺς τὰ θεῖα καὶ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς θεολογίας στῦλος ἀπερίτρεπτος καὶ ἀμετακλινής; ἆρ' ἥττων ὤφθη τῆς τῶν πονηροτάτων πονηρίας; ἢ ταῖς αὐτῶν ὅλως ἐπιθέσεσιν ἐνδέδωκεν; ἢ μικρόν τι τῆς εὐσεβείας καθυφῆκεν [6]*; ἢ μετρίως ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς διεκινδύνευσεν; οὐδαμῶς. ἀλλὰ τῇ θρασύτητι μὲν ἐκείνων τὴν φρόνησιν ἀντιτιθείς, τῇ πανουργίᾳ δὲ τὴν εὐτολμίαν — μᾶλλον δὲ τῷ θράσει μὲν τὴν ἀνδρίαν, τὴν δὲ σύνεσιν ἀντεπεξάγων πρὸς τὴν πανουργίαν — καὶ καθόλου δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν πρὸς ὅλην αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρατάττων τὴν κακίαν, οὕτως εἰς τέλος ἐτρέψατό τε* [7] *καὶ κατηγωνίσατο ὡς τρίβους μᾶλλον νηὸς ποντοπορούσης ἢ ὁδοὺς ὄφεως ἐπὶ πέτρας ἢ πετομένων ἴχνος ἀετῶν κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν* [8] *ὁραθῆναι ἢ τῆς ἐκείνων ἴχνος ὑπολελεῖφθαι τῷ βίῳ δυσσεβείας.*

[2] *μὲν* add. A // [3] *ἢ κουφότερον* A : om. B // [4] *μακρὰν* A // [5] *πειθανουργίαις* A // [6] *ὑφῆκεν* A // [7] om. A // [8] Cf. *Prov.* 30, 19

Καὶ γὰρ τῷ μὲν ἓν ἔργον ἐγίνετο καὶ σπούδασμα, τῷ ψεύδει μὲν ἀντιμαχεῖν, ὑπερμαχεῖν δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τῆς μὲν κατὰ τοὺς ἀνομωτάτους Ἀνομοίους ἀλλοτριότητος [9] *ἀλλοτριοῦσθαι, τῆς τοῦ ὁμοουσίου δὲ δόξης παντάπασιν ἐξῆφθαι· τοῖς δὲ ταύτην ἐκ καρδίας ἀποσειομένοις, τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς ἔχεσθαι πλανήσεως· καὶ τῷ κήρυκι μὲν τῆς ἀληθείας, κοινωνοὺς ἔχειν πάντας ἀγαθοειδῶς ἐφίεσθαι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ· τοῖς τοῦ ψεύδους δὲ συνηγόροις, ὡς πολεμιωτάτῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ πειρᾶσθαι μὲν ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν* [10], *τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ δὲ πρεσβευομένην ὀρθοδοξίαν* [11] *σβέσαι. ψυχὴ γὰρ ἀτόποις μὲν ἐννοίαις ἢ πράξεσι προειλημμένη, ἀπαλλαγῆναι δὲ τῆς προλήψεως οὐ βουλομένη ὡς δυσμενεῖς τοὺς διορθοῦν αὐτὴν ἐγχειροῦντας ὑφορᾶται, καὶ τὸν ἔλεγχον ὥσπερ μώλωπα λογιζομένη δριμεῖάν τε καὶ φονικωτάτην κατὰ τοῦ ἐλέγχοντος ἀναρριπίζει βουλήν.*

Καὶ τῷ θεολόγῳ μὲν λόγοι κατετείνοντο θεηγορίας — λόγοι οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἀληθῆ πίστιν μόνον καὶ σωτήριον τῆς τριάδος ἐμβιβάζοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγάπην Χριστοῦ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐντολῶν τηρήσεως ἀνάπτοντες, ἐν οἷς σωτηρία καὶ δικαιοσύνη προσγίνεσθαι πιστεύεται. πρὸς τούτοις νέκρωσις διεσπούδαστο σαρκός, προσευχὴ διηνεκής, δι' ἧς κάθαρσις διανοίας ὁλοτελής, ἐξ ἧς ἐκδημία πρὸς κύριον νοός, ἐλλάμψεων θειοτέρων μετουσία, οὐρανίων ἀπαυγασμάτων κοινωνία, τέλος ἐπιθυμιῶν, ἀποπλήρωσις κρειττόνων, δι' ὧν ὁ ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ καταρτιζόμενος καὶ τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοὸς ὁσημέραι κατὰ Χριστὸν μεταμορφούμενος, οὐχ ἧττον τῇ τοῦ βίου θειότητι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ ἢ τῇ τοῦ λόγου λαμπρότητι σωτήριος τοῖς σωτηρίας ἀξίοις ἀναδείκνυται. τοῖς Ἀρειανοῖς δὲ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν συμμάχοις (σύμμαχον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ [12] *κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου φόνῳ πᾶν τὸ* [13] *στῖφος τῶν αἱρετικῶν· οἶδε γὰρ ἡ κακία τῇ κακίᾳ πολλάκις συμμαχεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς πολέμῳ συμφρονεῖν, ὡς εἴρηται, κἂν τἆλλα τυγχάνῃ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ζυγομαχοῦσα) — τούτοις οὖν ἔχθραι, ἔρις, ζῆλοι, θυμοί, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς ὅσα Παῦλος ὁ μέγας σαρκὸς ἔργα* [14] *πρὶν κατηριθμήσατο, καὶ τὸ τῶν κακῶν πρῶτον αἴτιον, φθόνος, καὶ τὸ τῶν κακῶν* [15] *πάντων ἔσχατον, ὁ φόνος, οὐ κατὰ πάρεργον διαπεπόνητο.*

[9] *Ἀνομοίους ἀλλοτριότητος* A : *ἀνομοιότητος* B // [10] *αὐτόν* A : *τόν* B // [11] *δόξαν* B a. corr. // [12] *τῷ τοῦ* A // [13] om. A // [14] Cf. *Gal.* 5, 20 // [15] *πρῶτον ... κακῶν* A : om. B

Οἵ γε πρῶτα μὲν λόγοις διαλεκτικῆς κακογνώμονος πειράζοντες, ἐρίζοντες, τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας πύργον ἐνσεῖσαι μηχανώμενοι, ὡς ἐκ περιβόλου[16] *δὲ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ σοφίας καὶ παρρησίας τῶν λόγων ἐκκρουόμενοι, καὶ καθάπερ ἀντιτύπῳ πέτρᾳ καὶ στερρᾷ τῇ τοῦ μεγάλου πίστει περιπίπτοντες μὲν ἐξ αὐθαδείας, ἀποβουκολούμενοι δ' ἐξ ἀσθενείας, καὶ προσβάλλοντες μὲν ἐξ ἀναιδείας, ἡττώμενοι δ' ἐξ ἀδρανείας, μᾶλλον δὲ συντριβόμενοι καὶ ὥσπερ κονιορτὸς ἐν ἀνέμῳ καὶ καταιγίδι τῷ τῆς ὑψηγορίας αὐτοῦ πνεύματι ἀπὸ ἅλωνος λικμώμενοι θερινῆς, ἐπειδὴ λόγοις ἔτι συμπλέκεσθαι τούτῳ τῶν ἀλογωτάτων ὑπελάμβανον κατὰ πάσης λόγου δυνάμεως καθαρῶς ἤδη τὸ κράτος ἀναδησαμένῳ, λίθοις βάλλειν ἐπεχείρουν λοιπόν.*

Καὶ καθάπερ ὁ φονώδης τῶν Ἰουδαίων δῆμος — ἓν ῥῆμα Στεφάνου πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπόντος[17]*, ἀνεῳγέναι μὲν αὐτῷ τοὺς οὐρανούς, τὸν υἱὸν δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τοῖς δεξιοῖς ὁρᾶσθαι τοῦ πατρός*[18] *— οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες ἀκοῦσαι τὴν πρὸς τὸν γεννήτορα τοῦ γεννήματος ἰσοτιμίαν, τὰ ὦτα δὲ συσχόντες καὶ ἀναστάντες αὐτίκα τὸν τῆς θεολογίας ἱεροφάντορα*[19] *κατέλευσαν· καὶ ὥσπερ τὸν Ἰησοῦν αὐτὸν πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνου μαρτυρίας, « Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμεν*[20]*, » ἐν μέσῳ τῷ συνεδρίῳ κεκραγότα διαναστάντες*[21] *λιθάζειν ἐνεχείρουν*[22]*, εἰ καὶ τούτων ἀστόχους ἀπεδείκνυ τὰς βολάς, τὸν ἴσον τρόπον καὶ τούτου θεὸν μὲν τὸν πατέρα, θεὸν δὲ τὸν υἱόν, θεὸν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον μίαν θεότητα τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν ὁμοουσίοις μεριστῶς ἑνιζομένην καὶ ἑνοειδῶς μεριζομένην ὑπερφυῶς θεολογοῦντος*[23]*, λύττης ἀμέτρου τὸ τῶν αἱρεσιαρχούντων σμῆνος πληρωθέντες, ὡς τῶν δογμάτων αὐτοῖς ἄρδην ἐξαπολομένων, τὸν κράτιστον τῆς θεολογίας ὑποφήτην ἐπαναστάντες καταλεύουσιν ὡς δι' ἑαυτοῦ τῆς τριάδος συνιστῶντα τὴν ὁμοτιμίαν.*

17. Gregory Is Accused before the City Prefect.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ κακῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν πολεμουμένη θεότης καὶ διαιρουμένη τὸν καλῶς αὐτῆς[1] *ὑπερμαχοῦντα περιεῖπεν*[2] *καὶ τὸ*

[16] *πετροβόλου* A // [17] *Σετφάνου . . . εἰπόντος* B : *εἰπόντος Στεφάνου* A // [18] Cf. *Act. Ap.* 7, 55 // [19] *ἱεροφάντοραν* B // [20] *Ioh.* 10, 30 // [21] *ἐξαναστάντες* A // [22] *ἐπεχείρουν* A // [23] *θεολογοῦντες* A.

17. — [1] *αὐτήν* B // [2] *διεῖπε* A

πνεῦμα τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πνέοντι παρῆν, ῥύεται μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπηρείας τῶν φονευτῶν, ἀνέπαφον δὲ ταῖς νιφάσι διατηρήσασα τῶν λίθων πρὸς μείζους ἀγῶνας καὶ τελειοτέρους παρασκευάζεται στεφάνους. καὶ γὰρ οἱ αὐτοὶ ταύτῃ διελεγχθέντες καὶ καταισχυνθέντες[2*] *ἑτέραν*[3] *αὖθις τὴν ἰσχυροτάτην, ὡς ᾤοντο, καὶ ἀμαχωτάτην ἐπίνοιαν ἐτράποντο· καὶ δὴ ποικίλαις αὐτὸν γραψάμενοι γραφαῖς καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως ὕπαρχον — ἐκείνοις μᾶλλον πειθόμενον*[4] *διὰ τὸ κατὰ τὴν πίστιν ὁμόγνωμον — ἀνάψαντες καὶ κατηγόρους ἐπιστήσαντες καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀναπείσαντες*[5] *καὶ τοῦτον ἐξαπιναίως συλλαβόντες τῷ ἐκείνου βήματι παρέστησαν. καί, ὢ τῆς ἐμπληξίας, ὢ τῆς ἀνεπιστάτου τῶν ἀθετούντων ἐπιθέσεως, ὁ τοῦ εἰρηνικοῦ δοκιμώτατος ὁμιλητὴς καὶ βραβεὺς εἰρήνης ἠπιώτατος διχοστασίας καὶ ταραχῆς καὶ ὁ τῆς εὐταξίας γνώμων ἀκριβέστατος*[6] *κρίσιν ὑπεῖχεν ἀταξίας· ὁ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστοῦ λόγου κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀντεχόμενος ἀπόστολον*[7] *ὡς ἑτεροδιδασκαλῶν παρὰ τῶν δυσσεβούντων ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο. εἱστήκει δὲ ὁ γεννάδας, ὥσπερ τινὶ τῶν ἑταίρων*[8] *καὶ συνήθων, ἀλλ' οὐ τοσούτῳ κράτει καὶ κριτῇ παρεστηκώς.*

Πῶς ἂν εὐστόχως ἑρμηνεύσαιμι ἢ τὸ τοῦ ὑπάρχου γαυρόν τε καὶ μετάρσιον καὶ ἀλαζονικὸν τῶν λόγων ἢ τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καθεστηκὸς καὶ πρᾶον καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον καιρίαν καὶ εὔστοχον ἀντίρρησιν;

« Τί σοι, » φησίν, « ὦ οὗτος, δοκοῦν πόλιν οὕτω μεγαλοπρεπῆ καὶ βασιλικωτάτην ἀταξίαις θορυβεῖν, ὑπερορίῳ καὶ ξένῳ χρηματίζοντι; »

Ὁ δέ· « Τί τὸ ἀδίκημα καὶ τίς ἡ καθ' ἡμῶν, » ἔφη, « τοῖς συκοφάνταις ἀταξία διαθρυλλουμένη; οὐδὲν γάρ μοι τοιοῦτον συνειδέναι. »

« Ὅτι, » φησί, « λόγοις κενοῖς καὶ βεβήλοις τὸν ἀσύνθετον ὀχλαγωγεῖς δῆμον, καὶ κλονεῖν μοι δοκεῖς τῶν ἀμαθῶν τὸν νοῦν καὶ ἀσυνέτων, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὑποποιούμενος καὶ πρὸς ἐπανάστασιν ἐκμαίνων, ῥᾳδίως ἐξάπτεσθαι κατὰ ταῦτα πεφυκότα. »

[2*] *καὶ καταισχυνθέντες* A : om. B // [3] *ἑτέρας* B // [4] *τιθέμενον* A // [5] *καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀναπείσαντες* B : om. A // [6] *διχοστασίας . . . ἀκριβέστατος* A : om. B // [7] *Ep. Tit.* 1, 9 // [8] *ἑτέρων* A

« Ἀλλ' ἀταξίας μὲν καὶ δημοτικῆς, » αὖθις ἔφη, « ταραχῆς τοσοῦτον αἴτιος ὅτῳοῦν ἀπέχω καθεστάναι ὅσον οἱ πάλαι θανόντες τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς [9] πολιτείας ἀπεξένωνται. πάλαι γὰρ — καὶ μή μοι τῆς ἀπονοίας ἐπιμέμψοισθε — πᾶσαν βίου καὶ ῥεούσης δόξης [10] περιφάνειαν καὶ πάσας ὀρέξεις σαρκὸς ἀποσεισάμενος, μόνῳ δὲ Χριστῷ συνταξάμενος καὶ τούτου τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ πνεύματος ἄγεσθαι προκρίνας, πάσης μὲν διχοστασίας καὶ ἔριδος καθαρὸν ἐμαυτὸν ἀγωνίζομαι τηρεῖν, μόνης δὲ τῆς καλλίστης εἰρήνης οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνος [11] ἀντέχομαι καὶ περιέχομαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας αὐτῆς ὅση δύναμις ἔχεσθαι μετὰ Παύλου παραινῶ · μηδὲ γὰρ ἄν τινα ταύτης χωρὶς ὄψεσθαι δύνασθαι τὸν κύριον. »

« Εἰς τί δέ σοι, » φησί, « καὶ ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν ; ἢ οὐκ ἀπόχρη πίστις ἡμῖν ᾗ καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας τίθεται καὶ πᾶσα χώρα καὶ πόλις συγκατέθετο ; ἢ σὺ καινοτομήσεις μόνος, καὶ μόνος τὴν οἰκουμένην πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπισπάσῃ δόξαν ; »

« Καινὸν μὲν οὐδέν, » ἔφη, « οὐδὲ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς πίστεως ἀλλότριον οὔτ' αὐτὸς πώποτε διενοήθην οὔτ' ἄλλοις εἰσηγοῦμαι · ἀλλ' 'ὅσα,' κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον, 'ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἔγνωμεν αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν διηγήσαντο ἡμῖν [12],' ταῦτα φρονοῦμεν, ταῦτα λαλοῦμεν. ἐν τούτοις μένομεν οἷς ἐμάθομεν καὶ ἐπιστώθημεν, εἰδότες παρὰ τίνος ἐμάθομεν [13], οὐκ ἀνθρωπίναις τῶν λογισμῶν ἐννοίαις μετροῦντες τὰ ἀνέφικτα οὐδὲ τὴν ἄφραστον φύσιν καὶ ἀπερινόητον διαλεκτικαῖς σταθμώμενοι μεθόδοις · οὐδὲ γὰρ τολμῶμεν παρὰ τὰ θειωδῶς ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν λογίων ἐκπεφασμένα, καθώς τινες, ἀπαυθαδίζεσθαι. πᾶς τοιγαροῦν ὁ ὢν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἡμῶν ἀκροώμενος φωνῆς καὶ τὴν δι' ἡμῶν λαλουμένην ἀλήθειαν ἐπεγνωκὼς οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἡμῖν, αὐτῇ δὲ δηλονότι δι' ἡμῶν προσέρχεται τῇ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ προσοικειοῦται. »

« Τί οὖν σοι, » φησί, « δοκοῦμεν ἡμεῖς ; ἢ [14] οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τε εἶναι καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ὅτι μὴ τῷ καθ' ὑμᾶς ὁμοουσίῳ πάνυ συντιθέμεθα ; οὐ γὰρ ἔχειν ἡμᾶς τούτῳ βεβαίως ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν συνθέσθαι. τί δαί [15] σοι καὶ τοῖς βασιλέως δόγμασιν οὐ συμφρονεῖν καὶ πρὸς τοσοῦτον ὄγκον ἀπονενοῆσθαι δόξης καὶ πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἀρχιερέων πλῆθος οὐχ ὁμονοεῖν ;

[9] ἡμᾶς A // [10] βίου καὶ ῥεούσης δόξης B : δόξης καὶ ῥεούσης ἡδονῆς A // [11] μόνον A // [12] Ps. 77, 3 // [13] Cf. Tim. 3, 14 // [14] ἢ ὅτι A // [15] δέ A

ἢ οὐ φοβῇ μή τι δεινὸν ἐξ ἐριθείας ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν[15*] *ἀβούλως ἐπισπάσαιο ;»*

«*Ἐχρῆν μέν, ὦ ὕπαρχε,*» *πράως οὑτωσὶ καὶ ἠπίως ὁ θεολόγος ἀπεκρίνατο,* «*μὴ προσκόπτειν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ μονογενοῦς, μηδὲ κατὰ τῆς ὁμοτιμίας τοῦ θείου*[16] *πνεύματος ἐπαιρομένους τῆς ἐκείνου κατολιγωρεῖν μεγαλειότητος, μηδὲ τοσοῦτον μαρτυριῶν ἐσμὸν ὑπερορῶντας τῶν τὴν ἰσοτιμίαν αὐτοῖς μαρτυρουσῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ταῖς χείροσι χραίνεσθαι τῶν ὑπολήψεων. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μιᾷ πίστεως ὁμολογίᾳ καὶ συμπνοίᾳ γνώμης τρισὶν ἁγιασμοῖς κατὰ τοὺς ὑψηλοὺς σεραφὶμ τὴν μίαν κυριότητα καὶ θεότητα δοξάζοντες ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα πάντες χρηματίζοιμεν, ὥστε μὴ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦδε, τοὺς δὲ τοῦδε, Χριστοῦ δὲ τοὺς πάντας καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ γίνεσθαι εἰς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς κλήσεως συντρέχοντας.*

«*Ἐπειδὴ δὲ κακούργως τινὲς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀμαθῶς ταῖς ἀναντιρρήτοις οὕτω μαρτυρίαις καὶ χρήσεσι προσκόπτοντες (οἷον ταῖς τοῦ υἱοῦ μὲν ὅτι λόγος ὢν θεοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ θεὸς ἦν*[17]*, καὶ ὅτι μονογενὴς καὶ ἐν τοῖς κόλποις ὢν τοῦ πατρός*[18]*, ''Ἐγώ,' φησίν, 'ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί*[19]*,' καί, ''Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμεν*[20]*,' καὶ ὅτι ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς πατρικῆς ὑποστάσεως*[21]*, εἴτουν εἰκὼν ἀπαράλλακτος, τῷ θείῳ Παύλῳ προκατήγγελται· ταῖς τ'*[22] *ἄλλαις αἷς*[23] *ἡ ταυτότης παρίσταται τῆς φύσεως· ταῖς τοῦ πνεύματος δέ· ὅτι κύριον, ὅτι ἀποστέλλον, ὅτι ναοποιοῦν ἑαυτῷ καὶ θεοῦν καὶ ἐνεργοῦν ὡς βούλεται καὶ διαιροῦν μεμαρτύρηται*[24] *χαρίσματα, δι' ὧν καὶ πλειόνων ἄλλων ἡ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τούτου συνδεσποτεία διαδείκνυται) — ἐπειδὴ*[25] *οὖν τηλικαύτας*[26] *τοῦ πνεύματος μαρτυρίας οὐκ αἰδούμενοι οὐ φρίσσουσι τὴν ἄκτιστον καὶ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργικὴν αἰτίαν τῇ κτίσει συναριθμεῖν καὶ κτίσμα γίνονται πονηρόν, εἰς δουλείαν κατάγειν τὴν καὶ δεσποτείας ἁπάσης ὑπεριδρυμένην φύσιν ἀπηρυθριακότως ἀλαζονευόμενοι οὐδὲ τοσοῦτον*[27] *γοῦν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἐννοήσειν ἐθελήσαντες, ὅτι εἴπερ ἡ ἐνδιάθετος ἔννοια ἡ ἐκ τοῦ νοὸς*

[15*] *ἐφ' ἑαυτόν* B : om. A // [16] *ἁγίου* A // [17] *Ev. Ioh.* 1, 1 // [18] Cf. *Ioh.* 1, 18 // [19] *Ioh.* 14, 11 // [20] *Ioh.* 10, 30 // [21] *Ep. Hebr.* 1, 3 // [22] om. A // [23] *αἳ* B // [24] Cf. 2 *Cor.* 3, 17; 1 *Cor.* 6, 19; 1 *Cor.* 12, 11 // [25] *ἐπεὶ* A // [26] *τηλικούτας* B // [27] *τοῦτο* A

ἀπαθῶς καὶ ἀχρόνως γεννωμένη καὶ τοῦ γεννῶντος ἀχώριστος τυγχάνουσα καὶ ἡ διὰ τῆς τοῦ λόγου δὲ προφορᾶς διαβαίνουσα πρὸς αἴσθησιν τῆς αὐτῆς τῷ γεννήτορι νῷ φύσεως καθέστηκεν[28], *ἀναλόγως καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν φώτων*[28*] *ὥσπερ τινὲς συναΐδιοι βλαστάνοντες βλαστοὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἂν εὐλόγως πιστεύοιντο φύσεως τῷ φύσαντι · διὰ ταῦτά τοι*[29] *τῶν μὲν ἡμεῖς ὡς παρὰ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας βούλημα*[30] *δογματιζόντων τῆς κοινωνίας εὐλόγως ἀπαλλοτριούμεθα καὶ τοῖς δόγμασιν οὐ συμφερόμεθα καὶ ταῖς ἀσεβείαις οὐ τιθέμεθα, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἴσην αὐτοῖς κρίσιν ὑπόσχωμεν τῆς βλασφημίας, κἂν πάσης νῦν βασιλεύειν νομίζωνται τῆς γῆς, κἂν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρχιερεῖς δοκῶσιν, κἂν θρόνων εἶεν ἐπιβαίνοντες ὑψηλοτάτων. ἡμῖν γάρ, ὦ θαυμάσιε, βασιλεῖς μὲν οὐ τῇ ἀλουργίδι τίμιοι, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀρετῇ, οὐ χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ λίθων τοῖς τιμιωτάτοις ἢ χρυσοκολλήτοις ἅρμασιν ἢ στρατοπέδοις μεγάλοις αἰδέσιμοι καὶ φοβεροί, ἀλλὰ πίστεως εἰλικρινείᾳ καὶ γνησιωτάτῃ διαθέσει πρὸς τὴν θεαρχίαν · ἀρχιερεῖς δὲ οὐ πάντως ἡμῖν οἱ ταῖς ἱερατικαῖς κοσμούμενοι στολαῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ*[30*] *τὴν ἀρετὴν μὲν σὺν αὐταῖς ὡς ποδήρη περικείμενοι*[31], *τὴν ὀρθόδοξον δὲ*[32] *πίστιν ὡς λογεῖον κρίσεως καὶ ἀλήθειαν καὶ δήλωσιν ἐν στέρνοις καρδίας περιφέροντες*[33].

« Οὕτω δὲ περὶ τούτων ἔχων, εἰ κινδύνων ἐπανάστασιν καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς τριάδος φυγαδείας καὶ θλίψεις καὶ θάνατον, τὰ τῆς ἀνωλέθρου ζωῆς παραίτια, παραιτησαίμην, τότ' ἂν ἄξιον ὄντως ἐμαυτὸν ἡγησαίμην πλείστων ὅσων θανάτων καὶ κινδύνων. »

Ταῦτ' οὖν εἰπόντα καὶ ἀκούσαντα τὸν ὕπαρχον θαυμάσαι λέγεται τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σοφίαν τῇ ἀρετῇ θαυμαστῶς συγκεκραμένην, οὕτω δὲ τὸν δῆμον τῆς εὐσεβείας[33*] *ἡττηθῆναι καὶ θεηγορίας, ὥστε μέγα βοῆσαι καὶ μὴ τῆς θεολογίας μακαρίσαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θεολόγον ἐκεῖ πρῶτον αὐτὸν προσονομάσαι*[34] *(οὕτω κατὰ κράτος εἵλετο θέατρον καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ*[35] *τὸ κριτήριον, εἴτουν ἀκροατήριον, πεποίηται) · τὸν δὲ μετ' εὐλαβείας οἴκαδε μὲν τοῦτον ἀποπέμψαι, ἠρέμα δὲ τοὺς γραψαμένους αἰτιᾶσθαι ὡς οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον ἔχοντας εἰς ἔλεγξιν*

[28] *νῷ . . . καθέστηκεν* B : *καθέστηκεν νοΐ* A || [28*] *Iac.* 1, 17 || [29] *σοι* B || [30] *τὸ . . . βούλημα* A : *τῷ . . . βουλήματι* B || [30*] *ὁ* A || [31] Cf. *Ex.* 28, 4 || [32] om. B || [33] Cf. *Lev.* 8, 8 || [33*] *εὐσπείας* A || [34] *προσωνομᾶσθαι* A || [35] *ἑτοῦ* B

αὐτῷ. ἐντεῦθεν καὶ μείζω κατὰ τὸ λόγιον[36] *τὴν παρρησίαν ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἦγεν· ψυχὴ γὰρ πᾶσα πρὸ τῶν ἀγώνων μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀγωνίαν καὶ ἀναδύεσθαι, μετὰ τὴν πάλην δὲ καὶ τὴν νίκην φιλεῖ παρρησιάζεσθαι.*

18. Comparison of Gregory with Job.

Ὁ μὲν Αὐσίτης ἐκεῖνος ἄνθρωπος καὶ μακάριος Ἰώβ — ἐπίφθονος διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῷ διαβόλῳ ποτὲ γενηθείς, ἐξηγηκότι δὲ τούτῳ παραδεδομένος — γυμνοῦται μὲν παίδων καὶ πάσης πρότερον περιουσίας, παίεται δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ πονηροτάτοις ἕλκεσι κατὰ τοῦ σώματος. σαπρίᾳ δὲ σκωλήκων καὶ πικραῖς ὀδύναις καὶ γυναικὸς ἀνοίαις καὶ φίλοις ἀνοικονόμητα παρηγοροῦσι προσπελάσας[1] *καὶ μὴ καταχαυνωθεὶς μήθ' ὅλως μηδεμίαν ἀφροσύνην δεδωκὼς τῷ θεῷ, λαμπρῶς ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν ἄθλων ἀνηγόρευται, καὶ διπλᾶ μὲν ἀνθ' ἁπλῶν ἃ περιεῖλεν ὁ φθόνος ἀντελάμβανεν, δίκαιος δέ, τὸ πάντων κάλλιστον, πρὸς τοῦ διὰ λαίλαπος αὐτῷ καὶ νεφῶν χρηματίσαντος ἀναγορεύεται. οὗτος δὲ οὐ τῷ <τοῦ>*[2] *πονηροῦ φθόνῳ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἀφῃρημένος, ἀλλὰ τῷ Χριστοῦ νόμῳ τὰ πάντα τοῖς πένησι κεχαρισμένος, οὐδὲ σωματικὸν ὄλεθρον δέκα μόνον ἀθρόως τέκνων ὑποστάς, μυρίων δὲ ὅσων ψυχῆς ἀπώλειαν ἐν πυρώσει τῶν σπλάγχνων ὑποσχών, παίεται μὲν πρὸς τοῦ ἐξηγηκότος οὐ κατὰ τοῦ σώματος δὲ μόνον, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον κατὰ μέσης αὐτῆς τῆς καρδίας καταπαίεται. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ὀδοῦσι μὲν τῶν ἀνόμων ὡς ὅπλοις καὶ βέλεσιν ὁ πειραστής, ταῖς γλώσσαις δὲ καθάπερ ὀξείαις μαχαίραις*[3] *κεχρημένος βάλλει μὲν αὐτὸν*[4] *συνεχῶς*[5] *ταῖς τῶν αἱρετικῶν γλωσσαλγίαις ὡς ἀκίσι, πλήσσει δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ταῖς βλασφημίαις· καὶ πειρᾶται διὰ τῶν πίστιν ὑποκρινομένων, τῶν φιλίαν ἐπαγγελλομένων (ὧν εἷς καὶ Μάξιμος ἐχρημάτιζεν ὁ κύων, οὗ τὸ κυνικὸν καὶ ἀναιδὲς τοῦ τρόπου καὶ ἐπίβουλον ὡς δῆλον ἅπασι παρήσω), διὰ πάσης συνόλως φάναι μηχανῆς δεξιῶς ἢ ἀριστερῶς προσφερομένης τὴν ἑαυτῷ μὲν ἀλήθειαν ψευδομένην ἀπελέγξαι, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ ποιήσασθαι διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν οἰκειότητος. ὁ δέ (καὶ γὰρ οὐκ*

[36] Cf. *Prov.* 1, 20.

18. — [1] *προσπαλαίας* A // [2] addidi : om. A B // [3] *μαχαίραις ὀξείαις* ∼ A // [4] *αὐτοῦ* B // [5] om. A

ἠγνόει τούτου τὰ νοήματα) τὴν θαυμασίαν ἀντιπροβαλλόμενος[6] *ὑπομονὴν πρὸς πάντα καὶ μακροθυμίαν, λύει μὲν καθάπερ ἀφρῶν ἐπανάστασιν τὰς τῶν ὑβρισμάτων τρικυμίας, λύει δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν τῶν ὑπηρετουμένων τῷ φθόνῳ κακοτροπίαν καὶ σκαιότητα. ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ οὐ διπλῆν ἀπειλήφει τὴν ἀποτεθεῖσαν κτῆσιν, ἀλλὰ πολλαπλῆν, ἐπάνω δέκα πόλεων κατὰ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐκεῖνον δοῦλον*[7] *ἐξουσίαν λαβών, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τῷ κυρίῳ τούτου προσοῦσι κατὰ τὸν πιστὸν οἰκονόμον καὶ φρόνιμον καὶ αὐτός, οὐ μέγα εἰπεῖν, καθεσταμένος*[8]. *δίκαιος δὲ ἀναγορεύεται μὲν ἥκιστα, γίνεται δέ· θεολόγος δὲ καὶ γίνεται καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς*[9] *ἀναγορεύεται.*

19. Gregory's Light, the Trinity, Illuminates the Whole World.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἡ τριὰς ὡς λαμπὰς ἐν αὐτῷ τρίφωτος ὑπερφυῶς ἀνακαυθεῖσα οὐκέτι τῷ τῆς σιωπῆς ἠνείχετο κατακρύπτεσθαι μοδίῳ, οὐκέτι τὴν τῶν σαθροτέρων διάνοιαν ᾤετο δεῖν οἰκονομεῖν. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ λαμπροφανὴς οὗτος ἥλιος ἄρτι τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν μὲν ἀφιείς, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς ὁρίζοντα[1] *ταῖς φωτοβόλοις ἀκτῖσιν ὑπερκύπτων, τέως μὲν τὰς τῶν ὀρῶν ἀκρωρείας ἠρέμα διαυγάζων πρὸς τὰ κοῖλα τῆς γῆς τὸ παχὺ τοῦ σκότους συνωθεῖ, κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ προϊὼν εἰς τέλος μὲν ἐξαναιρεῖ τὸν ζόφον, τῆς παγκοσμίου δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς χάριτος τὴν ὑφήλιον πληροῖ (εἰ μή τι τῶν νυκτινόμων ὂν τύχοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἡλιακὰς αὐγὰς ἀντισχεῖν οὐ δυναμένων, ὡς τὴν ὄψιν ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τοῦ φωτὸς ἐπιτριβομένων μᾶλλον ἢ φωτιζομένων, ἢ δι' ἀνεπιτηδειότητα φωτοληψίας*[2] *εἰς τὴν τῆς λαμπηδόνος οὐκ ἀναπλουμένων*[3] *μετουσίαν — ἃ δὴ χηραμούς τε καὶ τρώγλας ὑπέρχεται πετρῶν)· οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ Γρηγόριος, μᾶλλον δὲ*[4] *ἡ τούτῳ καθάπερ ἡλιακῷ σώματι προσαναπαυομένη τριὰς πρῶτον τοὺς ὑψηλοτέρους τὸν νοῦν καταφωτίζουσα, εἶτα πᾶσαν φωτὸς ἀξίαν*[5] *διάνοιαν τῆς ἀξιεράστου γνώσεως πεπληρωκυῖα, πᾶσαν καρδίαν θηριώδη καὶ ἀλογίᾳ σύντροφον αἴσθησιν γῆς βάθεσι κατέκρυψεν, τῆς θείας ἀκτῖνος τὴν νοητὴν ἔλλαμψιν οὐκ ἐνεγκοῦσαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο*

[6] *ἀντιβαλλόμενος* B // [7] Cf. *Luc.* 19, 17 // [8] *καθιστάμενος* A // [9] *λαμπρῶς* B.
19. — [1] *ὁρίζονται* B // [2] *φωτολαμψίας* B // [3] *ἀναπλούμενον* B // [4] *δ'* A // [5] *διαξίαν* B

τὸ θεῖον ἀπαναινομένην φῶς, ὅτι μὴ οἷά τέ ἐστι κακοήθεια φύσεως ἢ πονηρία[6] *γνώμης τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ὑποδέξασθαι τῆς ἀγαθότητος.*

Ἆρ' οὖν τῇ πόλει μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς τὸ ἐν Γρηγορίῳ τρισήλιον ἐξανατέλλει φῶς, αἱ χῶραι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς τῆς φωτιστικῆς ἐκείνου λείπονται λαμπρότητος; ἢ τοῖς προσοίκοις μὲν καὶ ἀγχιτέρμοσι τὸ τῆς θεολογίας ἐπιφαίνει φῶς, τῶν πόρρω δὲ κειμένων καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα γῆς κατειληφότων ἡ τῶν λόγων οὐκ ἐξικνεῖται χάρις; ἢ φθάνει μὲν καὶ μέχρις ἐκείνων, ἀμυδρῶς δέ; ἢ λαμπρῶς μέν, οὐ μονίμως δέ; οὐ μὲν οὖν. ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ τὰ πάντα καθαίρει, φωτίζει, τελεσιουργεῖ· καθαίρει μὲν τοῦ τῶν αἱρέσεων ἄγους τοὺς ἀγνοίᾳ προκατειλημμένους, φωτίζει δὲ λόγοις θεηγορίας[7] *ὑπερφυοῦς τε καὶ οὐρανοβάμονος, τελεσιουργεῖ δὲ ταῖς τελεταρχικαῖς προσοικειῶν ἀκτῖσι τῆς θεαρχικωτάτης συμφυΐας.*

20. Comparison of Gregory with Moses and with Aaron.

Οἶδα μὲν οὖν εἰς κόρον τὸν λόγον προαγόμενον, ὅθεν ὑπὸ δυοῖν διέλκομαι καὶ μερίζομαι παθῶν. δέει μὲν γὰρ τοῦ μὴ φορτικός τις καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπειρόκαλος δοκεῖν ἐπέχεσθαί μοι τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ λόγου. ἀλλὰ τί πάθω; καὶ γὰρ ἑτέρωθεν οὐκ ἀνίησιν ἐκβιαζόμενος καὶ τυραννῶν ὁ πόθος· ὅλον δέ με κατ' ἄκρας ἑλὼν καὶ σαφῶς ἑαυτοῦ πεποιημένος, τό τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ θεολόγου μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ τὸ τῶν τρόπων δὲ θεοπρεπὲς ταῖς διεξοδικωτέραις συγκρίσεσι λαμπρότερον ὑπομιμνήσκων, ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ πολυρρημονεῖν παρασκευάζει.

Εἶεν δὴ οὖν, καὶ πρὸς Μωσῆν ἀκριβῶς τὸν μέγαν, ὡς οἷοί τέ ἐσμεν, ἀντιπαρεξετάσαντες κἀντεῦθεν τὸ μέγα κύτος τῶν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καταθεωρήσωμεν κατορθωμάτων. Μωσῆν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἁγίας μὲν ῥίζης τῆς Ἀβραὰμ βεβλαστηκότα, νήπιον δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ διὰ τὸν Φαραὼ φόβον ἐκτεθέντα, καὶ ἀστεῖον μὲν τῇ Φαραωνίδι[1] *φανέντα, εἰς υἱὸν δὲ ταύτῃ σαφῶς εἰσποιηθέντα, ὃς διὰ ταῦτα παιδεύεται μὲν πάσῃ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπιστήμῃ, τὴν πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς δὲ φιλοστοργίαν*

[6] *μοχθηρία* A // [7] *θεολογίας* A.
20. —[1] *Φαραωνίτι* B

οὐ μεταπαιδεύεται· ὅθεν ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἀναθρεψαμένοις οὐ πάνυ φίλα φρονῶν κατεφωρᾶτο, διαδρὰς καὶ πρὸς Μαδιὰμ τὸ ὄρος διαβὰς κἀκεῖ γυναικὶ νομίμως προσωμιληκώς, ποιμὴν μὲν βοσκημάτων ἀνεδείκνυτο [2], *ἐσχολακὼς δὲ τῇ τῶν ὄντων θεωρίᾳ εἶδε θεὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βάτου, καθὼς ἦν ἐφικτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ κατιδεῖν.*

Αὖθις δὲ πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐν σημείων δυνάμεσιν ἀποσταλεὶς καὶ Αἰγυπτίας ψυχῆς ἀπομαχεσάμενος σκληρότητι, αἰκίζεται μὲν αὐτοὺς αἰκίαις πολυτροπωτάταις, ἐν ὑψηλῷ δὲ βραχίονι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λαὸν περιποιεῖται καὶ τῆς αἰγυπτιακῆς [3] *μὲν ἀπαλλάττει μοχθηρίας, στύλῳ δὲ πυρὸς καὶ νεφέλης ὁδηγούμενος εἰς τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην καθοδηγεῖται* [4] *γῆν. εἶτα πόντος μὲν ἐρυθραῖος καταδιαιρούμενος ἄνικμον τούτοις ὑφήπλωσε πορείαν, αὖθις δὲ τοῖς διώκταις πρὸς ἑαυτὸν συγχυνόμενος* [5] *ὄλεθρος ἅμα καὶ τάφος ἐχρημάτισεν. ἐντεῦθεν πέτρα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναβλύζει ῥαγεῖσα ποταμούς, ξύλον δὲ πικρίαν ὑδάτων ἐξιᾶται, καὶ ὄρνιθας μὲν ὡς χοῦν βρέχει τὸ στερέωμα, ἄρτον δὲ καθὼς ὄμβρον ὁ οὐρανὸς* [6] *ὕει. καὶ χειρῶν μὲν ἔκτασις τρέπει μυριάδας, θεοῦ δὲ ἀπόφασις ἔνδικος λαὸν ἀνταναιρεῖ γογγυστήν.*

Τὸ πάντων μεῖζον καὶ θαυμασιώτατον· ἄνεισι μὲν εἰς ὄρος κατ' ἰδίαν ὑψηλόν· νηστείᾳ δὲ τεσσαρακονθημέρῳ σῶμα καθαρθείς, ψυχὴν καθαγνισθείς, θεοῦ μὲν ἐπιστασίας φρικτῆς, ἐμφανείας δὲ κρείττονος ἐν εἴδει πυρὸς καὶ φωνῶν καὶ σαλπίγγων ὡς ἐν συμβόλοις ἀξιοῦται. πλαξὶ δὲ λιθίναις νόμους ἐγγραφέντας λαβὼν καὶ ποικίλους θυσιῶν τρόπους ἐκεῖ διδαχθείς, καὶ τῆς ἀληθινῆς σκηνῆς ὑποτύπωσιν διὰ τῆς σκιώδους ἐκεῖσε κατωπτρίζετο· ἐκεῖ λυχνία καὶ τράπεζα, ἐκεῖ θυσιαστήρια καὶ κιβωτὸς τά τ' ἄλλα ὅσα δὴ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐπουρανίων ὁμοιότητα παρείληπται τυπικῶς τῷ θεόπτῃ κατεθεωρεῖτο. ἃ δὴ τοῖς φυλέταις παραδοὺς καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην μὲν τῷ Ἀαρών, ἀδελφῷ τὸ σῶμα, ἀδελφῷ τὸ πνεῦμα, παρασχών, τὴν στρατηγίαν δὲ καὶ δημαγωγίαν τῷ θεράποντι κατεγχειρίσας Ἰησοῦ, καὶ πᾶσαν δὲ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν [7] *ἔργων τὴν διακονίαν θεοβουλεύτως* [8] *ἐκτετελεκώς, οὕτω δὴ τὴν ἐπίκηρον ἀποτίθεται ζωήν.*

[2] *ἀναδείκνυται* A // [3] *αἰγυπτίας* A // [4] *καθηγεῖται* B // [5] *συγχωνύμενος* A // [6] *ὁ οὐρανός* B : *οὐράνιον* A // [7] *καθ' αὐτόν* correxi : *κατ' αὐτόν* A B // [8] *θεοβουλεύστως* A

Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Μωσῆς καὶ οὗτος αὐτοῦ τῆς πολιτείας ὡς ἐν βραχεῖ φάναι καθέστηκεν ὁ τρόπος. τί δὲ ὁ Γρηγόριος; ἆρ' οὐ τοκέων ἱερῶν ἱερώτατος ἐξέφυ καρπός; ἆρ' οὐχὶ καὶ οὗτος ἔκθετος ὡς ποταμῷ [9] *τῷ κόσμῳ γεγονὼς τῇ μὲν σφραγῖδι τοῦ πνεύματος ὡς θίβει* [10] *κατησφάλιστο, ἀστεῖος δὲ καὶ δεξιὸς τὴν φύσιν τῇ κοσμικῇ σοφίᾳ κατοφθεὶς εἰς υἱόν τε ταύτῃ χρηματίσας ἐν αὐτῇ παιδαγωγεῖται καὶ προκαταρτίζεται; ἆρ' οὐχὶ ταύτης τὸ χαμερπὲς μὲν* [11] *καὶ δεισίδαιμον ἀσμεναίτατα* [12] *διέφυγεν, τῷ ὑψηλοτέρῳ δὲ τῆς θεωρίας καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν οἰκειοτέρῳ διαβατηρίῳ πρὸς τὴν ὑπερκόσμιον κέχρηται σοφίαν; οὐ καθάπερ Μωσῆς εἰς ὄρος μεταναστεύων Μαδιάμ, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀπαθείας ὕψος ἀνιών, οὐδ' ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος θνητὴν ἑαυτῷ μεμνηστευμένος γαμετήν, τῆς τελείας δὲ σοφίας ἐρασθεὶς καὶ τῷ τῶν χαρίτων αὐτῆς στεφάνῳ κατακοσμηθεὶς καὶ θρεμμάτων — οὐκ ἀλόγων, λογικῶν δέ — τῷ ὄντι ποιμὴν δοκιμώτατος ἀναδειχθείς, ὁρᾷ μέν, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων* [13], *τὸν ἀόρατον· ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ δὲ προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν κατοπτριζόμενος κυρίου* [14] *πληροῦται μὲν θεωρίας τε καὶ ἐξουσίας, εἰς ταυτηνὶ δὲ τὴν φιλήδονον Αἴγυπτον ἐξαποστέλλεται. ἀποστέλλεται λαὸν κυρίῳ περιούσιον περιποιήσασθαι καὶ τῆς σκοτεινῆς μὲν ἀγνοίας τῶν αἱρετιζόντων ἀπαλλάξαι, πρὸς τὴν φωτοειδῆ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἐν πίστει ζώντων ἀληθείας μετασκευάσαι κληρουχίαν.*

Ῥάβδον δὲ οὐκ ἐγχειρίζεται μὲν πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, αὐτὸς δὲ γίνεται μᾶλλον ῥάβδος δυνάμεως θεόθεν ἐξαποσταλεῖσα· ῥάβδος, οὐκ εἰς πλάνον ὄφιν μετασχηματιζομένη, ἀλλ' εἰς χριστοειδῆ μορφὴν καὶ διάνοιαν ἀλλοιουμένη, οὐκ εἰς ἄποτον αἷμα τὸ πότιμον ὕδωρ μεταβάλλουσα, τοῖς ποτίμοις δὲ λόγοις τοὺς ἁλμυροὺς ἐκείνων ἀποκλύζουσα, οὐχ ἑρπετῶν πολλῶν καὶ βορῶν ἐπιθέσεσι τοὺς ὑπεναντίους καταθραύουσα, ἐνεργοῖς δὲ λόγοις καὶ ζῶσι τὸν σκληρότατον νοῦν καὶ ἀγέρωχον μαστίζουσα. καὶ τοῖς μὲν μώλωψ καὶ πληγὴ φλεγμαίνουσα [15] *οὐ παρὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκείνων κακοήθειαν σηπεδόνος ἁπάσης δυσαλθέστερον τῷ φθόνῳ πληττομένων καὶ καταικιζομένων, τοῖς δὲ παράκλησις ἦν ἀγαθὴ καὶ στηριγμὸς καὶ χάρις. καὶ οἷς μὲν τρόπον χαλάζης καὶ πυρὸς*

[9] *ἐν ποταμῷ* A // [10] *θήβῃ* B, *θήκῃ* A ; cf. *θῖβιν* *Ex.* 2, 3 // [11] om. B // [12] *ἀσμενέστατα* A // [13] om. A // [14] Cf. 2 *Cor.* 3, 18 // [15] Cf. *Is.* 1, 6

ἐπιτιθέμενος τῇ τε πυκνότητι τῶν λόγων καὶ τῷ πυρὶ τῶν ἐνθέων νοημάτων τὰς τῶν ὑβριστῶν ἐξανήλισκε [16] φρένας, οἷς δὲ καθάπερ δρόσος οὐρανόθεν ἠπίως καταβαίνων ἀναθάλλειν ταῖς διανοίαις παρεσκεύαζεν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν σκότος ἐχρημάτιζε ψηλαφητόν [17], τοῖς δὲ φῶς νοερόν, ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ ὑπεραγίου κατεπέλαμπε [18] φωτός, μᾶλλον δὲ φῶς ἀληθινὸν πᾶσι καὶ γινόμενος καὶ ὤν. οἷς μέν ἐστι φωτιστικὸς ὅσοι πρὸς τὸν δι' αὐτοῦ φωτισμὸν οὐκ ἀνοικείως τὴν νοερὰν ὄψιν διατέθεινται, οἷς δὲ πάλιν ἀμαυρωτικὸς ὅσοι μὴ οἷοί τέ εἰσι πρὸς τὰς τῆς ἀληθείας ἀντοφθαλμεῖν αὐγὰς οἰκείᾳ [19] γνώμης σαθρότητι, τὸ φῶς μὲν [20] ὡς πολέμιον ἐκκλίνοντες, τὸν δὲ σκότον ὡς αὐτοῖς ἥδιστον αἱρούμενοι. καὶ ὧν μὲν τὰ πρωτότοκα τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ πράξεων ὠλόθρευε τοῖς ἐλεγμοῖς, ὧν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀμιάντους ἐν τῷ αἵματι διετήρει τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Γίνεται στῦλος πυρὸς καὶ νεφέλης ὁ αὐτός, τὸν μὲν τῆς ἁμαρτίας διατήκων [21] ζόφον, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐργῶδες ἀναψύχων. καὶ οἷα δρόσῳ νεφέλης τῇ τοῦ παρακλήτου παρακλήσει τὸν νοητὸν Ἰσραὴλ συνελαφρίζων καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄνω παραπεμπόμενος μονάς, καὶ χειρὶ μὲν ὑψηλῇ τὴν τοῦ βίου ῥηγνυμένην αὐτῷ θάλασσαν ἀπαθῶς διαπερῶν, τοὺς ἀλογίστῳ δὲ κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μανιώδει συσκευαζομένους ὄπισθεν [22] ὁρμήματι καταπνιγομένους ἐν αὐτῇ λιπών, αὐτὸς τοῦ καθαρωτάτου τῶν σῳζομένων μέρους μετὰ λαμπρῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφοδίων πρὸς τὰς σωτηρίους ἡγεῖτο καταπαύσεις.

Γίνεται καὶ [23] πέτρα · καὶ γὰρ εἶχεν ὄντως τὴν πνευματικὴν πέτραν [24], οὐκ ἀκολουθοῦσαν, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ μένουσαν, Χριστὸν ζωῆς νάματα βλυστάνοντα. δείκνυται καὶ ξύλον τὴν ἄποτον καὶ πικρὰν τῶν αἱρέσεων διδασκαλίαν εἰς ὀρθοδοξίας γλυκύτητα παρασκευάζον. χειρῶν δὲ οὐκ ἐκτάσεσιν ἡμερησίαις, καὶ ταῦτα βαρυνομένων καὶ δι' ἄλλων ἐπανορθουμένων, ἀλλὰ νοῦ πρὸς κύριον διηνεκέσιν ἐπάρσεσι καὶ ἐκδημίαις ὑπεστήριζε [25] μὲν τὸν ὄντως Ἰσραήλ, κατεστρέφετο δὲ τὸν ὄντως Ἀμαλήκ.

Τρέφει δὲ οὔτ' ἄρτῳ πρὸς αὐγὰς οὐρανόθεν ὑομένῳ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀνόδους ἡλίου τηκομένῳ οὔτε δὲ σαρξὶν ὀρνίθων

[16] ἐξανήλιφε A // [17] *Ex.* 10, 21 // [18] κατέλαμπε A // [19] οἰκείας A // [20] om. A // [21] διαστήκων B // [22] om. A // [23] om. B // [24] Cf. 1 *Cor.* 10, 4 // [25] Cf. *Ex.* 17, 11-12

ἀμετρήτων ὡς ὄμβρος ἐπιβρεχομένων, λόγων δὲ περιουσίᾳ καὶ δυνάμει τῶν [26] τε πνευματικωτέρων τε καὶ θειοτέρων, τῶν ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐκ τῆς σοφίας τῆς ἄνωθεν χορηγουμένων, τῶν τε σωματικωτέρων καὶ φυσικωτέρων, τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγείου καὶ κοσμικῆς τούτῳ συνέσεως ἐπισωρευομένων. τούτοις οὖν τοὺς εὐθεῖς μὲν καὶ πιστοὺς ἔτρεφέ τε καὶ ἐψυχαγώγει, τοὺς γογγυστὰς δὲ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καταλαλοῦντας οἰκτίστῳ παρεδίδου μόρῳ.

Εἰς ὄρος δέ, οὐκ αἰσθητόν τι γεώλοφον, πρὸς ὀλίγον ὑπαναχωρῶν κἀκεῖ θεῷ προσομιλῶν, αὖθις τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐπεχωρίαζε νομοθετῶν. τὴν ἀκροτάτην δὲ τῆς θεολογίας προσβὰς περιωπήν, οὐ διὰ τεσσαρακονθημέρου, δι' ἀενάου δὲ νηστείας κρείττονος ἢ κατ' αἴσθησιν καταξιοῦται θεοπτίας· οὐ φωνῶν σφοδρῶν καὶ σαλπίγγων τὸν ἀέρα βίᾳ πληττουσῶν καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν σφοδρῶς ἐνηχουσῶν, ἀλλ' ἀψοφητὶ καὶ πράως τῷ πραεῖ καὶ ἡσυχίῳ θεοῦ πνεύματι προσομιλῶν καὶ συγγινόμενος καὶ τῆς μεγαλοφωνίας τῶν ὑψηλῶν δογμάτων ἡσύχως ἀντιλαμβανόμενος, οὐ σκότῳ καὶ γνόφῳ τὸ σῶμα καλυπτόμενος, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑπεραγνώστου γνώσεως ταῖς ἀκαταληψίαις κατακαλυπτόμενος, οὐ θυέλλαις περιπνεόμενος καὶ καταιγίσιν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς αὔραις τοῦ θείου [27] πνεύματος περιδονούμενος, οὐ τὰ τῶν οὐρανίων ἀντίτυπα οὐδὲ σκιὰς ἐνοπτρίζεται τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ οὐράνια μυσταγωγεῖται καὶ αὐτὴν καθαρῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὁρᾷ. συμβόλοις γὰρ καὶ σκιαῖς τοῖς τῷ Μωσεῖ θεωρηθεῖσι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀληθινῶν κατανόησιν χρησάμενος [28] καὶ δι' αὐτῶν καθαρῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν διαπορθμευθεὶς τὸν νομοθέτην, εἶδεν ὄντως τὴν δόξαν οὐ τῶν ὀπισθίων θεοῦ [29] μόνον, ἃ δὴ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν δι' αὐτοῦ γενομένων τὴν γνῶσιν ὑπαινίττεται, ἀλλ', εἰ μὴ μέγα τοῦτο φάναι, καὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθίων, τὴν αὐτοῦ λέγω δὴ τοῦ προόντος ὑπεράγνωστον τῆς ἀπειρίας γνῶσιν. εἶδεν αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐ πρὸς βραχὺ φανεῖσαν καὶ τάχος ἀποπτᾶσαν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀεὶ τούτῳ παραμένουσαν, οὐδ' ἐν ὀπῇ πέτρας* καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος σκεπαζόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μονογενεῖ λόγῳ τὴν δόξαν τὴν πατρικὴν καταθεώμενος ἐν τῷ τοῦ υἱοῦ πνεύματι ὑπερφυῶς τὸν υἱὸν περιαστράπτεται. εἶδεν τὰ διὰ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ [30] σκευῶν μυστικῶς παραδηλούμενα [31] · μᾶλλον δὲ

[26] τῷ B // [27] θεοῦ A // [28] χρησ. κατ. ∼ A // [29] Cf. *Ex.* 33, 23 // * Cf. *ibid.* 22 // [30] αὐτῷ A // [31] Cf. *Hebr.* 9, 2-5

σκηνὴν ἑαυτὸν ἀκατάλυτον διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀρετῶν ποικιλίας τῇ θεαρχίᾳ καταστήσας, καὶ κιβωτὸν τὴν ἰδίαν πεποίηται ψυχήν, κιβωτόν, οὐ χρυσῆν ἔχουσαν στάμνον, χριστοειδῆ δὲ καρδίαν τὸν οὐράνιον ἄρτον ἔνδον περιέχουσαν, οὐ καρυΐνην ῥάβδον ἄνθος βλαστοῦσαν μαραινόμενον, διάνοιαν δὲ θείαν τὸ τῆς θεολογίας ἄνθος ἀμάραντον [32] βλαστάνουσαν, οὐδὲ πλάκα λιθίνην καὶ εὔθραυστον συγκρύβουσαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπεξεσμένον καὶ ἄθραυστον νοῦν καὶ ὄντως δακτύλῳ γραφόμενον θεοῦ.

Ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἑπτάλυχνος καθίσταται λυχνία ταῖς ἑπτὰ τοῦ πνεύματος χάρισι καταυγάζουσα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· καθίσταται καὶ [33] τράπεζα τὸν μυστικώτατον ἄρτον τοῖς καλῶς πεινῶσι προτιθεῖσα· καθίσταται καὶ [34] θυσιαστήριον οὐ τῶν θυμιαμάτων μόνον, ὡς εὐωδίας ἐνδελεχῶς ἀνάγων τὰς τῶν προσευχῶν θυσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὁλοκαυτωμάτων, τὰς εὐσεβείᾳ πίονας ἐν ἑαυτῷ [35] ψυχὰς ἱερουργούμενος.

Ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ μέγας γενόμενος ἀρχιερεύς, οὐ τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῆς χρίσεως κεφαλὴν καὶ πώγωνα καταδιαίνεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ τῆς ἀγαλλιάσεως πνεύματι νοῦν καὶ ψυχὴν καθαγιάζεται· οὐδὲ στολαῖς ποικίλαις ταῖς ἀπὸ τῆς κάτωθεν ὑφαινομέναις ὕλης καταρτίζεται, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῶν ἀρετῶν ποικιλίᾳ τὴν ψυχικὴν στολὴν καταποικίλλεται. καὶ τὸν ἐναρμόνιον τῆς ἀποστολικῆς θεοσοφίας φθόγγον, ὡς Ἀαρὼν ἐκεῖνος τοὺς κώδωνας, ἀναλαβόμενος, οὕτως ἱερουργὸς ἁγιάσματος [36] καὶ θύτης καινῆς θυσίας οὐ [37] δι' αἵματος ἐχρημάτιζεν ἀλλὰ τοῦ πνεύματος. οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν σκιὰν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Ἀαρὼν ἀλλὰ κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν θεῖον τὸ τῆς βασιλείας εὐαγγέλιον ἱερουργῶν καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὸν μέγαν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τοῦ οἰκείου λαοῦ προθυόμενος καὶ προσευχόμενος, οὐχ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τοῖς τῶν ἁγίων ἁγίοις ἐπιχωριάζει, ἀνενδότως [38] δὲ τῷ νοερῷ καὶ οὐρανίῳ προσπελάζων θυσιαστηρίῳ ἐκεῖθεν ἡμῖν ἱερουργεῖ τὴν σωτηρίαν. οὕτως ὑπόδειγμα τῷ θεολόγῳ οὐ Μωσῆς γίνεται μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀαρών.*

Πρὸς ὃ βλέπων, καθ' ὅσον ἀλήθεια τῆς ὑποτυπούσης αὐτὴν ὑπεραναβέβηκε σκιᾶς, κατὰ τοσοῦτον, οἶμαι, περιφανέστερος ἐκείνων δείκνυται καὶ τελειότερος. τί οὖν; ἆρα τῶν μὲν οὕτω τὸν βίον μιμησάμενος κατὰ τοσοῦτον ὑπερέβαλεν, τῶν ἐφε-

[32] *βλαστοῦσαν ... ἀμάραντον* A : om. B // [33] *δέ* A // [34] *δέ* A // [35] *αὐτῷ* A // [36] om. A // [37] *οὐδέ* A // * Cf. *Hebr.* 9, 7 // [38] *ἀνένδοτος* B a. corr.

ξῆς δὲ προφητῶν καὶ δικαίων τῆς μιμήσεως ἀπολιμπάνεται; ἤ τινας μὲν τῶν ἐπ' [39] *ἀρετῇ λαμψάντων ἐμιμήσατο, τινὰς δ' οὔ; ἢ πάντας μέν, ἔλαττον δέ τινος ἠνέγκατο, ἢ κατὰ ταὐτὸν* [40] *ἠνέχθη, ἢ μικρῷ τῆς αὐτοῦ λειπομένους ἀφῆκεν ἀρετῆς; οὐδαμῶς. ὁ γὰρ τοῦ προφητῶν ἁπάντων καὶ νομοθετῶν ὑπερανεστηκότος κατὰ τοσοῦτον ὑπερανέχων Μωσέως, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων τῇ περιουσίᾳ τῆς κατὰ τὴν χάριν ὑπεροίσει μεγαλοπρεπείας;*

21. Theodosius the Great, an Orthodox Christian, Becomes Emperor.

Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰ συνεχῆ τῆς κατὰ τὴν [1] *αὐτοῦ πολιτείαν ἱστορίας τὸν λόγον πάλιν ἡμῖν μετενεκτέον. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ὄντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ πεπλανημένα μὲν τῶν προβάτων ἐπιστρέφοντος, τὰ ἀπολωλότα δὲ ζητοῦντος, καὶ καταδεσμοῦντος κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν προφητείαν* [2] *τὰ συντετριμμένα, καὶ τόποις μὲν χλόης αὐτὰ κατασκηνοῦντος, ὕδατι* [3] *δὲ τῆς ὄντως ἀναπαύσεως ἐκτρέφοντος* [4], *καὶ πάσης μὲν ἀδικίας — ὅση κατὰ πρᾶξιν, ὅση κατὰ πίστιν — ὡς πόας ἐξείργοντος θανασίμου* [5] *καὶ βλαβερᾶς, ἐπὶ τρίβους δὲ δικαιοσύνης ὁδηγοῦντος, καὶ νομοθετοῦντος οὐ πρόσκαιρον κάθαρσιν σώματος ἀλλὰ τοῦ σαρκίνου φρονήματος τὴν νέκρωσιν, οὐδὲ ζωοθυσίας ὑποδεικνύντος τύπον ἀλλὰ τὴν διὰ πίστεως ζώωσιν τοῦ πνεύματος, καὶ οἷα μὲν βολίσιν εὐστόχοις τὰς τῶν Ἀνομοίων κατατοξεύοντος καρδίας, οἷα δ' ἀκτῖσι φανοτάταις ταῖς ἱερομύστοις αὐτοῦ διδαχαῖς τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς καταπυρσεύοντος, λύεται μὲν ἐξαίφνης ἡ τυραννίς, βασιλεία δὲ ἔννομος ἀναγορεύεται. καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν μὲν ἐκποδὼν γίνεται τὸ κράτος, τὸ δὲ τῆς εὐσεβείας κατάλειμμα παρρησιάζεται· καὶ τῶν αἱρετικῶν μὲν ἡ ὀφρῦς ἐνδίκως κατασπᾶται, ἀνίσταται δὲ κέρας σωτηρίας* τῷ λαῷ τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλεὺς ὁ φιλαγαθώτατος καὶ μισοπονηρότατος καὶ δύο τὰ κάλλιστα διανοούμενος — τοὺς μὲν τὴν τριαδικὴν μοναρχίαν δοκοῦντας καθαιρεῖν ἀτιμῶν καὶ καθαιρῶν, τοὺς ἰσοτίμως* [6] *δὲ τὴν ἰσότιμον ὑπερτιμῶντας* [7] *φύσιν τιμῶν καὶ ἀνορθῶν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τυραννίδι*

[39] *ἐν* A // [40] *κατ' αὐτόν* A.

21. — [1] om. A // [2] Cf. *Ez.* 34, 4 // [3] *ὕδασι* A // [4] Cf. *Ps.* 22, 2 // [5] *θανασίμους* B // * *Luc.* 1, 69 // [6] *ἰσοτίμους* A // [7] *τιμῶντας* A

τῶν θρόνων ἐπιβεβηκότας ἐξουθενῶν [8] *καὶ παρωθούμενος, τοὺς ἀδίκως δὲ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξωθημένους τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀποκαθιστάνων τόποις.*

Ὡς ἂν δὲ δεξιωτάτην ἀρχὴν τῇ αὐτοῦ βασιλείᾳ καταβάληται, δύο ταῦτά οἱ καταπράξασθαι σπουδὴ γίνεται. τίνα ταῦτα; οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ τὰ δεδογμένα τοῖς ἐν Νικαίᾳ πατράσιν ἐπισφραγισάμενον τὰς μὲν καινοτομηθείσας αἱρέσεις κατασβέσαι, τὰς ἔριδας δὲ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς διασκεδάσαι · τοῦτο Θεοδόσιος ὁ μέγας πρῶτον διανοηθείς, Γρηγόριον τῷ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐγκαθιδρῦσαι θρόνῳ δεύτερον ἔργον οὐχ ἧττον τοῦ πρώτου καὶ σπούδασμα ποιεῖται.

22. Gregory Made Bishop of Constantinople.

Ὁ δὲ πάσης μὲν φιλοτιμίας ὑπερανεστηκυῖαν ἔχων τὴν ψυχήν, διαθέσει δὲ πρὸς τὸ ποίμνιον φιλοστόργῳ διακείμενος, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μὲν διδομένην ἀσμενέστατα προσίετο, τὸν θρόνον δὲ τέως μὲν [1] *ὑπερετίθετο. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ* [2] *βίᾳ μέν, εἶξε δ' οὖν ὅμως ἀρχιερέων ψήφῳ ἄλλων τε οὐκ ὀλίγων καὶ τοῦ προεδρεύοντος Ἀντιοχείας (Μελέτιος ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ μέγας, ὃς πολλοὺς πρὸ τοῦ λέγεται καὶ γενναίους ἀγῶνας ὑπὲρ τῆς τριάδος ἀγωνίσασθαι). τούτου κρίσεσι θείαις καὶ βασιλέως χρηστοῦ* [3] *βίαις καὶ πιστῆς πολιτείας παρακλήσεσι, μᾶλλον δὲ θείοις νεύμασι, ἑπόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν ὑψηλὸν τῆς προεδρίας θρόνον ἀνάγεται · καὶ ὁ λύχνος ἐπὶ τῆς λυχνίας τίθεται* [4] *μετάρσιος, καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τῇ ὑψηλοτέρᾳ προσβαίνει σκοπιᾷ. τί δαί* [5]*; οὐκ ἔμελλεν ἡ βασιλεῖς μὲν βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τυράννους δὲ γῆς κρατεῖν παρασκευάζουσα τριὰς καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς μὲν ἐγείρουσα πτωχόν, ἀπὸ κοπρίας δὲ πένητα ὑψοῦσα* [6] *καὶ τὸν αὐτῆς δοκιμώτατον θεραπευτήν, τὸν ἔργοις αὐτοῖς τελειότατον ἀρχιερέα, τῷ ἀρχιερατικῷ θρόνῳ καθιδρῦσθαι;*

Ἀλλὰ μηδεὶς ἐκθέσμως αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἱερὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τύπον πρὸς τρίτον ὑπονοείτω θρόνον μετατίθεσθαι · καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ μετάθεσιν εἶναι τοῦτό γε, προχείρισιν δὲ τὸ

[8] *ἐξουδενῶν* B.

22. — [1] om. A // [2] om. A // [3] *χριστοῦ* A // [4] Cf. *Matth.* 5, 15 // [5] *δέ* A // [6] Cf. *Ps.* 112, 7

χρῆμα, καὶ πρώτην αὐτῷ καὶ μίαν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλίδος γενέσθαι τὴν καθίδρυσιν [7]. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Σασίμων πρῶτον, ὡς ἔφθην εἰπών, τοῦ χειροτονηθῆναι μόνον εἵνεκεν [8] προβεβλημένον, οὔτ' ἐνθρονισθῆναι τούτοις οὔθ' ὅλως ἐκεῖ χειροθεσίαν ἤ τινα τετελεκέναι μυστικὴν ἱεροτελεστίαν τῷ πάντῃ πρὸς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον ἀνεύθετον εἶναι δηλαδὴ τοῦτο τὸ κωμύδριον· Ναζιανζοῦ δὲ τὴν καθέδραν πάλαι διέπειν λαχόντος τοῦ πατρός, οὔτ' οὖν προκεχειρίσθαι [9] τοῦτον αὐτῆς οὔτε ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ καθιδρυθῆναι, μόνον δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου παραίνεσιν καὶ προτροπὴν τὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας ὑστέρημα πληροῦν καὶ οὕτω τῆς ἐκκλησίας καταδέξασθαι τὴν προστασίαν, ὡς ἔρεισμα γήρως καὶ πατρικῆς ἀσθενείας χρηματίζειν ὑποστήριγμα. τοῦτο δ' εἶναι σαφὲς καὶ [10] ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸν ὁμώνυμον ἐπιστέλλων φησίν· «Πᾶσι γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι Σασίμων, ἀλλ' οὐ [11] Ναζιανζοῦ, προεβλήθημεν, εἰ καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον αἰδοῖ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν ἱκετευσάντων ὡς ξένοι τὴν προστασίαν κατεδεξάμεθα [12].» ἐπειδὴ οὖν ὁ πατὴρ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον τοῦ θείου μετηλλάξατο, ἐντεῦθεν σχολάζοντα τοῦτον λοιπὸν ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑπειληνῖα χάρις καὶ βίου καὶ λόγου θειότητι μετὰ ταῦτα δὴ περιανέστατον ἀποδείξασα τῷ θρόνῳ μὲν — τὸ βλεπόμενον — τῆς βασιλείας [13] ἐνιδρύει, τῆς οἰκουμένης δέ — τὸ νοούμενον — ποιμένα καλὸν καὶ μέγαν ἀρχιερέα προχειρίζεται.

23. Description of Gregory's Enthronement As Bishop.

Ἄξιον δὲ μηδὲ τὸν τῆς καθιδρύσεως κατασιγῆσαι τρόπον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ περιηγγέλη τὸ θεῖον ἐκεῖνο καὶ σωτήριον πρόσταγμα καὶ δόγμα, τὸν θεολόγον μέλλειν ἐνιδρῦσθαι τῷ θρόνῳ, ἴσον δὲ εἰπεῖν τὴν θεολογουμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τριάδα, ἣν ἰδεῖν μικροῦ σύμπασαν ἅμα τὴν κτίσιν περὶ τὴν αὐτῆς ὕψωσιν ἐνσειομένην. πείθομαι γὰρ τότε πάσας μὲν τῶν οὐρανῶν δυνάμεις νοερῶς, ἀΰλως, ἀοράτως προτρεχούσας, παρεπομένας, δορυφορούσας τὴν ἱερὰν εἰσοδίαν τῷ ἱεράρχῃ τῷ θείῳ γηθοσύνῃ συγκροτεῖν, πάσας δὲ τῶν ἀνιέρων δαιμόνων στρατείας (ὅσαι τὸν ἀέριον περιπολοῦσι χῶρον καὶ ὅσαι δὲ τὸν περίγειον διειληφυῖαι περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πλάνησιν

[7] καθέδραν A // [8] ὡς ἔφην A // [9] προχειρίσθαι B // [10] om. A // [11] ἀλλ' οὐ B : οὐχί A // [12] Gr. Naz. Ep. 149 (M. 37, 297A) // [13] βασιλίδος A.

ἀποσχολοῦνται) πρὸς ὑποχθονίους κευθμῶνας καταδῦναι κατεπειγομένας, τὴν ἐξαλλομένην τοῦ θείου πνεύματος οὐ φερούσας ἀστραπήν. καὶ πᾶσα δὲ ἡ τῶν εὐσεβούντων πολιτεία τῷ πιστῷ βασιλεῖ πιστῶς παρεπομένη καὶ μεγίστης ὑπόθεσιν ἑορτῆς [1] τὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως εἴσοδον ποιησαμένη λαμπρῶς καὶ γεγανωμένως τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀνακτόροις τούτῳ συνεισήρχετο.

Ἦν οὖν ἐκεῖ καθορᾶν κρότους πανδήμους, ὕμνους ἐπινικίους, χαριστηρίους θεῷ, χαριστηρίους τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἦν ὁρᾶν ἄνδρας, γυναῖκας, γέροντας, νήπια, δούλους, δεσπότας, πᾶσαν ἀνθρώπων ἡλικίαν, πᾶσαν ἰδέαν βίου — ἐρημικοὺς καὶ μιγάδας, ἱερεῖς καὶ λαούς — ἐκ παντὸς ὀλίγου δεῖν φάναι γένους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν καθάπερ κυμάτων ἐπανάστασιν συρρέοντας, ἐπιρρέοντας, προτρέχοντας, ἀντιτρέχοντας, ὠθοῦντας, ἀντωθοῦντας, ἀντωθουμένους, πάντας χαίροντας, πάντας ἐξαλλομένους, εὐθυμοῦντας πάντας καὶ καλὴν ἅμιλλαν ἁμιλλωμένους. οὐδὲ παρθενικαῖς τηνικαῦτα τῆς ἱερᾶς θέας ἐκείνης ἀπολείπεσθαι θεμιτὸν ὑπελαμβάνετο· καὶ αὗται δὲ κοσμικῶς κατακαλυψάμεναι σπουδῇ τὰς ἱερὰς κατελάμβανον αὐλάς.

Ἀγὼν δὲ ἦν πᾶσιν, τῷ μὲν προσεγγίσαι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, τῷ δὲ πλησίον γενέσθαι τῶν προσεγγιζόντων, τῷ δὲ κἂν πόρρωθεν εἰσερχόμενον ἰδεῖν ὡς κἀντεῦθεν τῆς ὠφελείας [2] μεταληψομένῳ. ψυχὴ γὰρ διὰ πίστεως νοερῶς τῷ πιστευομένῳ συναφθεῖσα, εἰ καὶ σκιὰν πόρρωθεν κατοπτρισθείη τοῦ πεπιστευμένου, ἵεται καὶ ἅλλεται καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ πάσῃ κατατείνεται σπουδῇ· καὶ οἱονεί τινι κέντρῳ φιλίας μείζονος τῇ ὄψει [3] χρωμένη καὶ σωματικῶς, εἴπερ οἷόν τε, τῷ ποθουμένῳ συνάπτεσθαι βιάζεται. οὐχ οὕτω περὶ τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναὸν ὁ Ἰουδαϊκὸς πάλαι δῆμος συνέρρει τοῦ Σολομῶντος ἐγκαινίζοντος, οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τῆς κιβωτοῦ καταπαύσει τῷ Δαυεὶδ πανήγυρις δημοτελὴς συνεκροτήθη, ὥσπερ δὴ λέγεται περὶ τὴν εἴσοδον ἤτοι καθίδρυσιν ἐκείνην συνεστάναι. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ὀρθοδόξοις τοιοῦτός τις δρόμος καὶ προθυμία συνεισήει.

Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸ τῶν αἱρετικῶν σμῆνος τῆς πανδήμου φορᾶς ἐκείνης ἀπελείπετο, παρῆσαν δέ — οἱ μὲν ἔνδον μὲν τῷ φθόνῳ διαπριόμενοι καρδίας, ἔξω δὲ τὴν κακίαν εἰς φῶς οὐκ

23. — [1] ὑπόθεσιν ἑορτῆς A : ὑποθέσεως ἑορτὴν B // [2] ἀληθείας A // [3] τῇ ὄψει μείζονος ~ B

ἐκρηγνύντες, οἱ δὲ λυττῶντες μὲν τρόπον κυνῶν καὶ φονίως ἐπεισπεσεῖν[4] καὶ κατακτεῖναι προθυμούμενοι, χειρὶ δὲ κρυφαίᾳ καὶ παντοκρατορικῇ τὸ μανιῶδες θράσος ἐπεχόμενοι. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπιβουλάς, συσκευάς, ἐπαναστάσεις καὶ αἵματος ἀθῴου χύσιν ἐμελέτων (πονηροὶ γάρ)· ἡ τριὰς δὲ τὸν αὐτῆς ὑπέρμαχον καὶ προαγωνιστὴν πάσης ἔσκεπε κακότητος (φιλάγαθος γάρ).

Ἐκεῖ ἦν ἀγῶνας ὁρᾶν ἑκατέρωθεν συρρηγνυμένους, τῶν Ἀνομοίων μὲν ὡς αὐτοῖς διαφερουσῶν ἀντιποιουμένων τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν (καὶ γὰρ τοῖς χρόνῳ πλείονι κρατήσασι, κἂν ἀδικώτατα τύχῃ τὰ κρατούμενα, τῇ διαρκείᾳ μόνῃ τὸ κῦρος ἄνθρωποι πολλάκις ἐπιγράφουσι), τῶν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου δὲ προασπιστῶν τῶν αὐτῶν ἀντεχομένων ὡς ἄρτι νεύσει κρείττονι καὶ ῥοπῇ βασιλέως εὐσεβοῦς ὑπό γε τῷ θεολόγῳ, καλλίστῳ καθηγεμόνι καὶ κληροδότῃ, κατακληρουμένων αὐτάς.

Ἐκεῖ ἦν ὁρᾶν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνο μέλος ἐνεργούμενον· τὸ κέρας μὲν τοῦ δικαίου ὑψούμενον ἐν δόξῃ, ἁμαρτωλοὺς δὲ ὁρῶντας καὶ ὀργιζομένους, τοὺς ὀδόντας βρύχοντας καὶ τηκομένους, καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν ἀπολλυμένας[5]. οὐ γὰρ ἔμελλεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ ψεῦδος ἀντισχεῖν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ παράταξιν εἰς τέλος ἐνεγκεῖν. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὥρα χειμέριος ἢ χειμερινὴ ψῦξις, πόρρω μὲν ἔτι τοῦ ἡλίου διατρίβοντος καὶ τὴν νοτιωτέραν οἶμον ἀνελίσσοντος, κατακρατεῖ καὶ συνέχει καὶ πᾶσαν ἐκπιέζει φύσιν, ἐκείνου δὲ πάλιν ἀνακάμπτοντος[6] καὶ τὰς βορειοτέρας μοίρας καὶ θερινὰς ἐκπεριερχομένου τροπὰς λαμπροτέρας[7] τε καὶ μονιμωτέρας ἀκτῖνας ἐπαφιέντος[8], διαθερμαίνεται μὲν καὶ ἀναζωπυρεῖται πᾶσα[9] φύσις, ἦρος δὲ διαλάμψαντος φαιδρότερον, αὕτη ῥᾳδίως ἐξαπόλλυταί τε καὶ λύεται καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὑποχθονίους κευθμῶνας[10] ἀντιπεριΐσταται· τὸν αὐτόν, οἶμαι, τρόπον καὶ τὴν βαρεῖαν ἐκείνην τῶν αἱρέσεων σκοτόμαιναν καθάπερ παχύτατον χειμῶνα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καταχυθεῖσαν καὶ τὰς τῶν εὐσεβῶν καρδίας ἐκπιέζουσαν αἱ τῶν Γρηγορίου λόγων ἀκτῖνες, ὡς ἐξ ἡλίου τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ μένοντος ἐξαλλόμεναι Χριστοῦ, φαιδρότερόν τε καὶ διαυγέστερον ἐκφάνασαι διέλυσαν ἢ κατέτηξαν, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας στερέωμα πρὸς

[4] ἐπιπεσεῖν A // [5] Cf. *Ps.* 111, 9-10 // [6] ἀνακαλύπτοντος B // [7] μοίρας . . . λαμπροτέρας B : om. A // [8] ἐπαφέντος A // [9] πᾶσα καὶ ἀναζ. ∼ A // [10] κεθμῶνας B

ἡμεροφαῆ κατάστασιν καὶ ἠρινὴν[11] μετεσκεύασαν λαμπρότητα.

Τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ λόγου ἡ πρὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκείνης εἰσόδου καταπυκνωθεῖσα τοῦ ἀέρος ἀχλύς. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ γέγονεν ἐντὸς[12] ἅμα πάσῃ τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, δοξολογία δὲ καὶ αἴνεσις ὑπὸ πάσης ᾔδετο τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐνίδρυτο δὲ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ὁ θεῖος ἱεράρχης, δάκρυα δὲ θερμὰ παρὰ παντὸς ἐχέθη προσώπου, κατανυσσομένων ἁπάντων ταῖς καρδίαις καὶ τὸ τῆς εὐεργεσίας μέγεθος ἀδακρυτὶ λαβεῖν[13] οὐ δυναμένων, βοὴ δὲ καὶ χαρᾷ καὶ λύπῃ συμμιγὴς καὶ δέησις ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνερράγη τοῦ λαοῦ, λύεται μὲν αὐτίκα τὸ παχύτατον ἐκεῖνο νύχος, φῶς δὲ διαυγέστατον[14] ἀθρόως ἀναλάμψαν ἠμαύρωσε μὲν τὰς ἐλπίδας τῶν ἀσεβῶν, κατηύγασε δὲ πρὸς τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τὸν νοῦν τῶν εὐσεβῶν, εἰς ὑπερβολὴν εὐθυμίας τὴν τῆς ἀθυμίας μετενεγκὸν ὑπερβολήν. οὕτως οἶδεν ὁ κύριος[15] ὥσπερ δοξάζειν τοὺς δοξάζοντας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐξουθενοῦντας αὐτὸν ἐξουθενεῖν.

24. Comparison of Gregory with Joshua.

Ὁ μὲν θαυμάσιος Ἰησοῦς τὴν Ἰσραὴλ στρατηγίαν ἀντὶ τοῦ Μωσέως ἐγκεχειρισμένος καὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποσὶν ἀβρόχοις διϊὼν πανστρατί, ἔθνεσι δὲ καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἀμαχωτάτοις εἰς μάχην ἀντιπαρατεταγμένος, οὕτως ἀναιμωτὶ πᾶν τὸ προσπῖπτον κατεστρέφετο, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν καθαιρεῖν τὸν ἐκ τῆς ὑψίστου λίαν ὑπερμαχούμενον δεξιᾶς[1]· ἠχῇ μόνῃ σαλπίγγων καρτερώτατα τείχη διαδονούμενα κατέπιπτεν, πόλεις αὔτανδροι πρὸς τούτοις ἄρδην ἀνῃροῦντο· βασιλέων ἔφοδος δυσμαχωτάτη οὐχ ὅπλοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ λίθων βολαῖς οὐρανῶν κατεχαλαζοῦτο[2], καὶ σφηκίαις δὲ προτρεχούσαις[3] κατεδάκνοντο[4]. τὸ δὴ μεῖζον καὶ παραδοξότατον· ἥλιος ἵστατο, σελήνη κατείχετο, καὶ οὐρανὸς αὐτὸς ἐφειστήκει τῷ Ἰσραήλ, συνεκπολεμῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄφρονας. ὧν[5] θεοῦ προμηθείαις ἐξαπολωλότων, τῆς ἐκείνων περιουσίας

[11] *εἰρηνικήν* A // [12] *ἐν τοῖς* B // [13] *φέρειν* A // [14] *διαυγέστερον* A // [15] *θεός* A.

24. —[1] *χειρός* B // [2] *καταχαλαζοῦνται* B // [3] *προστρεχούσαις* A ; cf. *προδρόμους . . . σφῆκας* *Sap.* 12, 8 // [4] *κατεδαπανῶντο* A // [5] *ᾧ* B

κατεκληρονόμουν, ἐν κληροδοσίας σχοινίσματι διὰ χειρὸς Ἰησοῦ τὴν αὐτῶν κατεκληροδοτοῦντο γῆν.

Γρηγόριος δὲ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς Ἰσραὴλ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀρχὴν πεπιστευμένος καὶ καθάπερ τι ῥεῦμα ποτάμιον τὰς μακρὰς γλωσσαλγίας τῶν ἀσεβοφρόνων ἀπημάντως διαβάς, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ὑψηλὴν καὶ αὐτὸς [6] εἶχε χεῖρα κραταιῶς ὑπερμαχοῦσαν, τῶν μὲν αἱ πόλεις αἱ ἄθεσμοι — φημὶ δὴ παρασυναγωγαί — ταῖς μεγαλοφωνοτάταις αὐτοῦ τῆς θεολογίας σάλπιγξιν ἐξαπίνης κατεσπῶντο· οἱ κραταιοὶ δὲ τῶν βλασφημιῶν προασπισταὶ οἷα μὲν λίθων βολαῖς καὶ χαλάζαις τοῖς οὐρανίοις κατεθραύοντο νοήμασιν, οἷα δὲ σφηκίαις ταῖς πυκναῖς τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀκίσι κατατιτρωσκόμενοι, οἱ μὲν εἰς τέλος ἀνῃροῦντο ὅσοι θράσει πολλῷ ῥέοντες θεομαχεῖν ἀπεθρασύνοντο, οἱ δὲ ζωῆς ἐτύγχανον κρείττονος ὅσοι δὴ τοῖς τῆς εὐσεβείας διδάγμασιν ὑποκύπτειν ᾤοντο δεῖν. ἥλιος δὲ καὶ σελήνη, τὰ δρώμενα μέν, οὐ κατεσχέθη [7]. διὰ τί γάρ; ὁ νοητὸς δέ, οὐ προσάπαξ, ἀεὶ δὲ τούτου τῷ οὐρανοβάμονι νῷ λαμπρῶς ἐφεστηκώς, ναὶ μὴν καὶ τῆς κοσμικῆς σοφίας τὸ φαεινότατον κάλλος οἷα σελήνης περιαυγάζον σέλας τροπαιοῦχον αὐτὸν κατὰ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ καθίστησιν ἐχθρῶν.

Οὓς ἀνελὼν τὴν κατειλημμένην ὑπ' ἐκείνων γῆν — τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φημί — κληρονομεῖ. κληρονομεῖ οὐ ῥέουσαν οὐδὲ ῥᾳδίως μεταπίπτουσαν κληρονομίαν, ἀλλ' ἄρρευστον καὶ πρὸς τὸν αἰῶνα διαβαίνουσαν τὸν μέλλοντα, οὐδὲ τὴν κάτω καὶ ὁρωμένην μόνον. δι' αὐτῆς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν ἐλευθέραν [8], τὴν τῶν πρωτοτόκων φημὶ διαβαίνων ἐκκλησίαν, οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἀναλόγως τῶν πόνων τὰς ἀφθάρτους ἐπιμερίζεται κληροδοσίας.

25. Praise of Gregory's Virtues and Achievements.

Μέλι μὲν οὖν καὶ γάλα καταρρεῖν τὴν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας γῆν ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγίας μεμαρτυρῆσθαι γραφῆς [1]. τοῦδε μέλι μὲν ὁ τῆς θεολογίας γλυκασμός, γάλα δὲ ἡ ἀείρυτος διδασκαλία· ἢ μέλι μὲν ἡ τῆς ἀρετῆς φιλοπονία, ἣν τῷ γεωργῷ τῶν ψυχῶν κατὰ τὴν φιλοπονωτάτην μέλιτταν δαψιλῶς ἐκαρποφό-

[6] καὶ αὐτός B : om. A // [7] οὐκ ἐπεσχέθη A // [8] Cf. *Gal.* 4, 26.
25. — [1] γραφῆς μεμαρῆσθαι (sic) ~ B

ρει, γάλα δὲ τὸ ἀφθονώτατον καὶ τροφιμώτατον τῶν λόγων ῥεῦμα. τούτοις γὰρ ἄριστά τε καὶ θεοπρεπέστατα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διῳκονομεῖτο. ταῦτα πρὸ τοῦ θρόνου, ταῦτα καὶ μετὰ τὴν καθέδραν αὐτῷ διεσπουδάζετο. οὐ γὰρ ἀνάπαυσιν πόνων, ἀλλὰ προσθήκην φροντίδων καὶ μερίμνης ἐπίτασιν καὶ κόπων ὑπερβολὴν ἡγεῖτο τὴν ἐπιστασίαν· μόνην δὲ ψυχῆς ᾔδει θυμηδίαν, τὴν τῶν μαθητευομένων αὐτῷ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ μίαν ἄνεσιν σώματος, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρημοτέρους τῶν ἀγρῶν ὑποχώρησιν καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ τῶν λογισμῶν φυλακήν, δι' ἧς ὁ νοῦς αὐτῷ πρὸς θεωρίας αἰρόμενος ὑψηλοτάτης τῇ τοῦ παρακλήτου μόνῃ παρεκαλεῖτο παρακλήσει· τὰς ἄλλας δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τέρψεις καὶ τὰς σωματικὰς ἀνέσεις ἀπέρριψε τοῖς σωματικωτέροις.

Καὶ γὰρ τρισὶ τούτοις πάσης ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆς — δόξῃ φημὶ καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ τρυφῇ — δελεαζομένης τε καὶ γαυρουμένης, οὔτε δὴ κενῆς δόξης φρυάγματι τὸν νοῦν φυσιούμενος ἐτέρπετο, οὔτε δὲ χρημάτων κτίσεως ἔρωτι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑποχαυνούμενος ἐδελεάζετο (πῶς γάρ; ὥς[2] γε τὴν πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα καθόλου νηπιόθεν ὄρεξιν νενέκρωτο), οὔτε δὲ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς ποικίλων ἡττᾶτο τῶν κατὰ τὴν γαστέρα φιληδονιῶν· πάσης δὲ ἤδη ῥαστώνης καὶ ἡδυπαθείας τὸ φιλοπαθὲς καὶ ῥευστὸν ἀποσεισάμενος οὕτω φιλοπονίαις καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶσιν ἐνεφιλοσόφει, ὥστ' αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἤπερ τινὶ τὸ δαυϊτικὸν ἐκεῖνο προσαρμόσαι φάναι, τὸ διὰ τοὺς λόγους τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χειλέων ὁδοὺς φυλάξασθαι σκληράς[3].

Ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν ἄλλην κατωρθωκότες ἀρετὴν ἢ θείας χάριτος εὐμοιρηκότες, τάχα που μόνην τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστος εὐεργετεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ προαιρεῖται γενεάν· τῷ δὲ οὐ τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσαις ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἐφεξῆς γενεαῖς τὴν θείαν χάριν θεομιμήτως ἐφαπλοῦν ἔργον γίνεται καὶ σπούδασμα. ταῖς διὰ γλώσσης μὲν οὖν ποταμηδὸν χεομέναις ἱερολόγοις διδαχαῖς τοὺς αὐτῷ προσιόντας εὐεργετῶν οὐ διελίμπανεν, ἐλέγχων, ἐπιτιμῶν, παρακαλῶν, σοφίζων, τοῖς δόγμασι τῆς εὐσεβείας συμβιβάζων, τοῖς ῥήμασι τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ πρὸς θεωρίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πρᾶξιν τοὺς πάντας ἀγαθοπρεπῶς πτεροῦν κατεφιέμενος· τοῖς ἱεροῖς δὲ συγγράμμασι τὰς μεταγενεστέρας γενεὰς οἰκοδομῶν[4], ἐν αὐτοῖς στηρίζει μὲν τοὺς περιτρεπομένους, βεβαιοῖ δὲ τοὺς πιστούς,

[2] ὅς A // [3] Cf. *Ps.* 16, 4 // [4] οἰκοδομῶν γενεάς ∼ A

ἐμφράττει δὲ καὶ πᾶν στόμα κατὰ θεοῦ λαλεῖν ἀδικίαν ἄχρι τέλους φρυαττόμενον ἢ φρυαχθησόμενον. τοσαύτη δὲ τούτῳ φροντὶς ἀκριβείας τε καὶ ἀληθείας μετὰ κάλλους καὶ γοργότητος καὶ σαφηνείας καὶ σεμνότητος, ὥστε πολλῶν πολλάκις ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος λόγους ἀναγραψαμένων ἢ καὶ[5] θεολογίας ἐκθεμένων, ὅσον ἀστέρας ἡλίου τῇ λαμπρότητι, τοσοῦτον τῆς θεηγορίας[6] ἐκείνου καὶ εὐσθενείας τῶν λόγων τοὺς πάντας ἀπολείπεσθαι.

26. Praise of Gregory's Writings.

Ἐγὼ δ', ὡς ἔχω, περὶ αὐτῶν ἐρῶ. ὅταν τοῖς στηλιτευτικοῖς ἐντύχω λόγοις, οἷς τοῦ Παραβάτου διελέγχει τὴν παραφροσύνην καὶ τὴν τῶν ἑλληνικῶν θρησκευμάτων κακοδαιμονίαν τε καὶ ματαιότητα καὶ οἷς τοὺς αὐτῶν θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας ἐκθριαμβεύει, τὴν ῥομφαίαν ὁρῶ τοῦ Γεδεὼν ἢ τὰς τριακοσίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ σάλπιγγας καὶ τὰς λαμπάδας, αἷς ἐκπλήσσει τε καὶ ἐξίστησι τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους[1] καὶ οἰκείαις τῶν λόγων καὶ πράξεων συνδεῖσθαι παρασκευάζει πάγαις[2]· ἢ Βαρὰκ τὴν μάχαιραν καὶ Ἰεφθάε· ἢ τὴν σιαγόνα Σαμψών, ἐν ᾗ κατὰ χιλίους ἐθραύοντο[3] παιόμενοι δυσμενεῖς. ὅταν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος συνηγορίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις αὐτοῦ θεολογίαις, αἷς πᾶν μὲν ἀλλόφυλον ἐκτέμνει δόγμα, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ Μακεδονίου καὶ Ἀρείου καὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς ἑπομένων τὴν ἀναιδῆ περικόπτει βλασφημίαν[4], τῆς θαυμασίας εὐθὺς ὑπομιμνήσκομαι τοῦ Δαυεὶδ[5] ἀνδραγαθίας, τρισὶ κατασφενδονῶντος λίθοις τὸν ἀλλόφυλον καὶ τὴν θρασεῖαν ἐκείνην περιαιροῦντος κεφαλὴν καὶ σωτηρίας κέρας ἐγείροντος τῷ Ἰσραήλ[6]· ἢ τῶν[7] Σαμουὴλ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν καὶ ῥαγδαίων ἄνωθεν ὑδάτων, οἷς ἀσυνετοῦντα τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπαιδαγώγει[8]· ἢ τὸ Ἠλίου πῦρ, ᾧ τὰ ὁλοκαυτώματα καὶ τὰς σχίδακας ἀνάλωσεν[9], ὥσπερ ὕστερον δύο θράσος ἐν τούτῳ πεντηκοντάρχων κατεμάρανεν[10]· ἢ τὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ μάχαιραν, ᾗ τοὺς τῆς αἰσχύνης προφήτας ἐνδικώτατα κατέκτεινεν[11].

[5] om. B // [6] θεωρίας A.

26. — [1] Cf. *Iud.* 7, 16 ss. // [2] πληγαῖς A // [3] Cf. *Iud.* 15, 15 // [4] θρησκείαν A // [5] τοῦ Δ. ὑπομ. ~ A // [6] Cf. 1 *Reg.* 17, 40 ss. // [7] τόν B // [8] Cf. 1 *Reg.* 12, 17 // [9] Cf. 3 *Reg.* 18, 38 // [10] Cf. 4 *Reg.* 1, 9 ss. // [11] Cf. 3 *Reg.* 18, 40

Ὅταν τοῖς πανηγυρικοῖς προσομιλήσω καὶ τοῖς περὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας τοῦ θεανθρώπου λόγοις, οἷς τὰς ἱερὰς φαιδρύνει πανηγύρεις, θεοῦ τῷ ὄντι φωναῖς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ψυχαγωγῶν καὶ κατατέρπων [12], *μετὰ Ἠλίου κουφίζομαι πρὸς οὐρανὸν καὶ τῶν πυρίνων λογίων ὡς φλογερῶν ἐπιβαίνων* [13] *ὀχημάτων μετάρσιος αἴρομαι* [14] *πρὸς κύριον· ἐννοῶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μηλωτὴν τῷ Ἐλισσαιὲ παρασχεθεῖσαν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν διπλῆν χάριν τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτῇ παρεπομένην* [15], *ἐν ᾗ οὐ ῥεύματα μόνον τῆς ἀσεβείας ἀνακόπτεται* [16] *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀτεκνοῦσαι γονιμώταται* [17] *δείκνυνται ψυχαὶ καὶ οἱ νενεκρωμένοι τῇ κακοπιστίᾳ πιστεύονται ζωοῦσθαι* [18].

Ὅταν ἱεραρχῶν ἐπαίνους [19] *καὶ μαρτύρων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰς πολυειδεῖς* [20] *εἰς τὸ ἦθος παραινέσεις τό τε ποικίλον τῆς αὐτοῦ θεοσοφίας τό τε πολυμερὲς καὶ πολύτροπον τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ τῶν συγγραμμάτων — ἐμμέτρων καὶ πεζῶν — μεταχειρίζωμαι, τὸ Σολομῶντος ὁρῶ τῆς διανοίας βάθος. μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πλέον ἐκείνου λέγειν ἔχομεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ σοφίαν, ἐπιστήμην τῶν ὄντων αἰτήσας καὶ λαβών, στοιχείων τε φύσεις καὶ γενέσεις ζῴων καὶ φυτῶν διαφορὰς καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ὄντων ἢ γινομένων* [21] *τὰς ἐνεργείας καὶ δυνάμεις οὕτω μεμαρτύρηται κατανενοηκέναι, ὡς μή τινα τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἢ μετ' αὐτὸν κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἀναστήσεσθαι· ὁ δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μὲν σοφίᾳ οὐδὲν ἢ μικρῷ λειπόμενος ἐκείνου, οἱονεὶ δὲ παιδαγωγίᾳ ταύτῃ* [22] *πρὸς τὴν θεαρχικὴν σοφίαν κεχρημένος, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου κατὰ ταύτην ὑπερέβαλεν, ὅσῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκεῖνος εὐδοκιμώτερος καθίσταται. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῇ τῶν γεγονότων ἐμφιλοχωρήσας θεωρίᾳ, τὸ διορατικὸν τοῦ νοῦ πρὸς αὐτῇ καταναλίσκει· ὁ δὲ διὰ τούτων πρὸς τὴν ὑπεράγνωστον γνῶσιν τοῦ ἀκαταλήπτου διαπορθμευθεὶς καὶ τῆς μυστικωτάτης καταδεδραγμένος ἀκαταληψίας, ἐκεῖ προσαναπαύει καὶ τὴν θεωρίαν.*

Καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸ πολυειδὲς τῆς φύσεως καὶ μεριστὸν καταμαθών, τὸ τοῦ νοῦ περίσσευμα πλείοσι βίβλοις συντάξαι μαρτυρεῖται· ὁ δὲ τὸ τῆς ὑπερθέου φύσεως ἑνικὸν καὶ τριαδικὸν ὑπερφυῶς κατανενοηκώς, καλλίστου λόγου [23] *δυνάμει καὶ φω-*

[12] *τέρπων* A // [13] *ἐπιβαίνω* A // [14] *αἰρόμενος* A // [15] Cf. 4 *Reg.* 2, 9-13 // [16] Cf. 4 *Reg* 2, 8 // [17] correxi : *γονιμώτατοι* A B // [18] Cf. 4 *Reg.* 4, 13-17 // [19] *ἐπαίνοις* A // [20] om. B // [21] *γενομένων* A // [22] correxi : *ταύτην* A B // [23] *καλλίστῃ λόγων* (*ν* suprascribitur) A

τιστικῇ χάριτι τῆς θεαρχίας ταῖς πάσαις ὁμοῦ γενεαῖς ὑψηλῶς θεολογεῖ. κἀκεῖνος μὲν τῇ κοσμικῇ πολυνοίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει τὰς φρένας μετεωρισθεὶς καὶ τοῦ σαρκικοῦ φρονήματος ἥττων ὀφθείς, μακράν — οἴμοι — τοῦ πνεύματος γεγένηται, μεμπτέος οἷς ἠρέτισεν (ἵνα μηδὲν εἴπω δύσφημον) γενόμενος· Γρηγόριος δὲ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀγόμενος, εἰ καὶ τῷ πελάγει τῆς τοιαύτης σοφίας ἠντιβόλησεν, ἀλλ' εὐμαρῶς τοῦτο καὶ κούφως διαπλεῖ, τῷ τοῦ[24] *θεοῦ πνεύματι διὰ πνευματικῆς ἀγωγῆς πρὸς τὸν οὐράνιον τῆς ὑπερουρανίου σοφίας διϊθυνόμενος λιμένα· καὶ τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς παθημάτων ὡς κυμάτων ὑπερενήξατο τὴν ἐπανάστασιν, καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτῳ τέλει τὸν ἴδιον πλοῦν τῆς ψυχῆς κατησφαλίσατο.*

27. Bishops Assemble at Constantinople : Gregory Renounces Episcopal Throne.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν προκειμένην αὐτῷ τῆς οἰκονομίας πρᾶξιν πέρας λαβοῦσαν εἶδε δεξιὸν καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ σπουδῆς καὶ ἐλπίδος ἀξιόχρεων, πάσης μὲν ὀχλαγωγίας καὶ ἔριδος καὶ τῶν Ἀνομοίων γλωσσῶν ἀνομίας καταδιαιρεθείσης καὶ ἀντιλογίας, παντὸς δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πληρώματος ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀντικαταστάντος[1] *καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ πίστιν οὕτως ἐπιδόντος ὡς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὁρᾶν ἐξανθοῦν*[2] *κομιδῇ τὸ ἁγίασμα κυρίου, παρῆσαν μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπισκόπων οἱ προσδοκώμενοι λογάδες. παρῆσαν, οὐ τὰς ἐκκλησίας διαπεσούσας ἀνορθούμενοι (ἤδη γὰρ τοῖς ἱδρῶσι τοῦ ἱεράρχου προκατώρθωντο), ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις ἐπιβεβαιούμενοι, οὐ τὴν πίστιν σαλευομένην στερεοῦντες (ἣν αὐτὸς ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις ἀδαμαντίνοις κατωχύρωσεν), ἀλλὰ τὰς τούτου θεολογίας ἐπισφραγιζόμενοι· οὐδὲ τὴν τῆς ὁμοουσιότητος δόξαν τότε τῷ πνεύματι παρέχοντες, ταῖς ἐκείνου δὲ πάντες συνεπεψηφίζοντο*[3] *θεηγορίαις.*

Ὁ γὰρ τῷ μεγάλῳ τῆς βροντῆς γόνῳ πρότερον κεχάρισται, τὴν δόξαν τρανῶσαι τοῦ μονογενοῦς καὶ παρρησίᾳ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων εὐαγγελιστῶν θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀνακηρῦξαι, δι' ὃ δὴ καὶ θεολόγος εὐστόχως προσηγόρευται, τοῦτο[4] *δὴ καὶ τῷ*[5]

[24] om. A.

27. — [1] *ἀντικαταπτάντος* A // [2] om. A ; cf. *Ps.* 131, 18 // [3] *συνεψηφίζοντο* A // [4] *τούτῳ* B // [5] om. A

νῦν εὐφημουμένῳ περὶ τὸν παράκλητον ὕστερον δεδώρηται. τῶν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀποξενούντων πάντῃ τῆς θεότητος, τῶν δὲ συντιθεμένων μὲν τῇ θεότητι, τρανῶς δὲ τοῦτον θεὸν εἰπεῖν οὐ[6] *δυναμένων, ἀλλ' ἢ δειλίαν ἰδίαν ἢ τὴν τῶν σαθροτέρων διάνοιαν οἰκονομούντων, μόνος οὗτος καὶ πρῶτος σχεδὸν ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας τὸ πνεῦμα θεὸν ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ σαφῶς τε καὶ λίαν πεπαρρησιασμένως ἀνεκήρυξεν· οἷς δὴ καὶ μισθὸν ἀπενέγκασθαι μεγαλοπρεπέστατον τῆς παρρησίας τὸ θεολόγον αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπεροχὴν προσαγορεύεσθαι, χρυσίου μυρίων θησαυρῶν καὶ τιμίων λίθων ἁπάντων τιμιώτατον τοῦτο δὴ τοὔνομα καρπούμενον.*

Τοίνυν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκείνων ἐπισκόπων καὶ τῆς πόλεως δὲ πάσης τοῖς ἀγῶσι τούτου καὶ πόνοις καὶ λόγοις τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας νίκην ἐπιμαρτυρούντων καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβολῆς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιγραφομένων καὶ ὥς τι γέρας ἀντάξιον τὸν ὑψηλὸν αὐτῷ θρόνον κατεγχειρίζειν νομιζόντων, αὐτὸς ὄχλον μὲν πραγμάτων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν διαδιδράσκων, ἔστι δ' ὧν καὶ τὰς περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ καθίδρυσιν παραιτούμενος ἀμφισβητήσεις καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ εἰρηναῖον ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προμηθούμενος, ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν πολιτευομένων ἐκκλίνων[7] *ἀρεσκείας (φιλοῦσι γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιθυμίαν μᾶλλον ἐθέλειν ἄγειν τοὺς ἀρχιερᾶσθαι λελογχότας ἢ ταῖς αὐτῶν ἕπεσθαι βουλαῖς, καὶ ἑαυτῶν τούτους βούλεσθαι ποιεῖν ἢ ἐκείνων εὐσεβεῖ νόμῳ γίνεσθαι καταξιοῦσιν), αὐτὸς δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀρέσαι πᾶσιν ἀνασχόμενος ὥστε κερδᾶναι πάντας κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον*[8] *ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τὸ περιττὸν δὲ ὡς ἀνθρωπαρεσκείας*[9] *ἐπίκλημα διωθούμενος καὶ διαπτύων, τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ φίλης αὐτῷ καὶ συντρόφου φιλοσοφίας καὶ ἡσυχίας ὑπερορεγόμενος, καὶ θρόνον μὲν ἕνα τὴν ἄνω καθέδραν τὴν ἀνεπίφθονόν τε καὶ ἀμετακίνητον, ἀμοιβὴν δὲ τῶν ἐνταῦθα πόνων τὴν ἐκείνης ἐπίβασιν εἰδώς, ὀλιγωρεῖ μὲν τιμῆς τῆς δι' ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ παρεχομένης καὶ τὸ περιμάχητον τῶν θρόνων ὕψος παραχωρεῖ τῷ βουλομένῳ· συνταξάμενος δὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἐνοχλήσεις ὑπεκδύς, πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα τέως τὴν κάτω μετοικίζεται.*

[6] *μή* A // [7] *ἐκκλήσι* A // [8] Cf. 1 Cor. 9, 19 // [9] *ἀνθρωπαρέσκειαν* A.

28. Gregory Returns to Nazianzus and Expels the Apollinarians : Becomes a Hermit : Dies.

Ἔνθα δὴ πάλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν πατρικὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ τῶν ἀνοήτων μὲν ἄγους Ἀπολλιναριστῶν ἀνακαθάρας, τοῖς οἰκείοις δέ γε τῆς πίστεως ταύτην ἀποδούς, εἶτα πρὸς ἐσχατιᾷ τινι κατὰ μόνας [1] γεγονὼς καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν πάντη περιολκῶν ἑαυτὸν συναγαγών, τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡγεμόνας δι' ἐπιστολῶν στηρίζων κατηρτίζετο· αὐτὸς δὲ θεωρίαις κρείττοσι καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ τελεωτάτῃ τῷ τῶν ἐφετῶν ἀκροτάτῳ συγγινόμενος καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν ἀπορρήτων χρώμενος καθηγεμόνι, μυεῖται μὲν πᾶσαν τῶν ἱεροτύπων συμβόλων ἀληθογνωσίαν ἐκτυπώτερόν τε καὶ τελεώτερον, μυεῖται δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπέκεινα πάσης συμβολικῆς ἐμφάσεως ὑπεριδρυμένην τῆς ἀληθείας γνῶσιν.

Ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν τῶν προφητῶν ἄλλοις τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τυπωθέντες θεωρήμασι (καί τινες μὲν ἐπὶ θρόνου ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἐπηρμένου [2], τινὲς δὲ ἐπὶ τετραμόρφων ζῴων ὀχούμενον [3] τὸν ἀόρατον ὁρῶντες, καὶ πῇ μὲν ἠλέκτρινον τοῦτον, πῇ δὲ πύρινον καὶ ἄλλοτε πάλιν ἀνθρωποειδῆ κατανοοῦντες ποικίλαις σχημάτων ἰδέαις καὶ πολυτρόποις μορφαῖς ὡς οὐδενὶ μὲν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἀποκεκληρωμένως εἴδει χαρακτηριζόμενον, αἴτιον δὲ πάντων ὄντα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ πάντα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὁρώντων ἱκανότητα συγκαταβατικῶς ὑποδυόμενον), τὸν ἄποσόν τε καὶ ἄποιον ὡς ἐν αἰνίγμασι προεθεώρουν. οὗτος δὲ πασῶν ἅμα τῶν ὁράσεων ἃς κατὰ μέρος ἐκείνων [4] ἕκαστος τεθέαται τὰς ἐλλάμψεις καὶ δυνάμεις εἰλικρινέστατα μυσταγωγούμενος καὶ πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου παραδεικνυμένην ἀλήθειαν θεωρητικώτατα καταυγαζόμενος καὶ τῷ τῆς παλαιᾶς θεμελίῳ τὴν καινὴν ἐποικοδομήσας ἱερογνωσίαν, παντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καταγώγιον ἀποδείκνυται σοφίας. ἐν Χριστῷ μὲν οὖν πᾶν τὸ τῆς θεότητος πλήρωμα κατοικεῖν πιστεύεται σωματικῶς, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ὅλον εἰσοικίζεσθαι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος.*

Ἰωνᾶς μὲν οὖν ὁ τοῦ Ἀμαθὶ καὶ Δανιὴλ καὶ νεανίαι τρεῖς, ὁ μὲν τῷ θαλαττίῳ θηρὶ βληθείς, ὁ δὲ βορᾷ λέουσιν ἐν λάκ-

28. — [1] *μόναν* A // [2] *Is.* 6, 1 // [3] Cf. *Ez.* 10, 18-22 ; 1, 26-27 ; 8, 2 // [4] om. B // * Cf. *Col.* 2, 9

κῳ δοθείς, οἱ δὲ ἀπορριφέντες καμίνῳ πυρός, εὐκτήριον τούτων ἕκαστοι, ὁ μὲν τὸν θῆρα, ὁ δὲ τὸν λάκκον, οἱ δὲ τὴν κάμινον, πεποίηντο. ηὔχοντο γὰρ ἀναβῆναι τούτων τὴν ζωὴν ἐκ φθορᾶς, ηὔχοντο ῥυσθῆναι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ θείαις νεύσεσιν ἐρρύσθησαν, ὁ μὲν τοῦ κήτους, ὁ δὲ τοῦ λάκκου, οἱ δὲ τῆς καμίνου τοῦ πυρός. Γρηγόριος δὲ καὶ θῆρα καὶ λάκκον καὶ πυρὸς κάμινον τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰς σωματικὰς ἡγούμενος [5] καχεξίας τε καὶ μοχθηρίας (αἳ δὴ παρενοχλεῖν ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ τὸν φιλοσοφώτατον νοῦν δύνανται καὶ διαβατικώτατον καὶ ταῖς θείαις, κατὰ τοῦτον εἰπεῖν [6], οἷα δὴ νέφος ἐπιπροσθεῖν ἀκτῖσιν), ηὔχετο τούτων ὡς δεσμῶν λυθῆναι· καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι [7] ἐστέναζεν ὥσπερ ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος, βαρούμενος καὶ τὸ οἰκητήριον τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἐνδύσασθαι ποθῶν [7].*

Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τυγχάνει τῆς κατ' εὐχὴν ἐπιθυμίας καὶ καλῷ γήρᾳ καὶ πίονι τὸν βίον καταλύει. ὅλον δὲ τὸ πολίτευμα πάλαι μεταθέμενος πρὸς οὐρανόν, πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ δὴ μεταχωρεῖ. καὶ τὸ σῶμα μὲν ὡς γῆν ἀφίησι τῇ γῇ τῷ πατρικῷ τάφῳ συγκαλύψαι, καὶ ὑφ' ἑνὶ λίθῳ τοῦτο [8] συγκρύψαι διαθέμενος· εἰς χεῖρας δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ δεδωκότος παραθείς [9], πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀμιάντῳ μεταβαίνει τῇ ψυχῇ. καὶ ὥσπερ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς ἐκλογῆς σκεῦος [10] Παῦλος ὁ θεῖος, ὁ τοῦ θεαρχικωτάτου νοῦ Χριστοῦ πεπληρωμένος, οὐ κάτωθεν ἀλλ' οὐρανόθεν κληθεὶς δι' αὐτοῦ, εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀπέσταλται τῆς γῆς, διὰ πολλῶν δὲ κινδύνων καὶ θλίψεων τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σωτήριον εὐαγγελισάμενος τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι, τὸν ἀγῶνα δὲ τὸν καλὸν νομίμως διαγωνισάμενος, τοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐπέτυχε στεφάνου [11]· τὸν ἴσον τρόπον καὶ ὁ τέλειος τούτου μιμητὴς διὰ τῆς ὑπερουρανίου τριάδος πρὸς τὴν θεαρχικὴν κληθεὶς θεολογίαν, διὰ πολλῶν μὲν κινδύνων καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ὁμοουσιότητα τῆς ὑπερουσιότητος εὐηγγελίσατο, τὸν ἀγῶνα δὲ τὸν καλὸν καλῶς ἠγωνισμένος καὶ τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας δρόμον ἀπρόσκοπον τετελεκὼς καὶ τὴν ἀκριβῆ πίστιν ὀρθοτόμον τετηρηκώς, λύεται τῶν ὁρωμένων, ἑνοῦται τοῖς νοουμένοις, ἐκδημεῖ τοῦ κόσμου, ἐνδημεῖ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.*

[5] om. A // [6] Cf. Gr. Naz. *Or.* 39 (M. 36, 344A) // [7] *Ep. Phil.* 1, 23 // [7*] Cf. 2 *Cor.* 5, 2 // [8] *τούτῳ* B // [9] Cf. *Luc.* 23, 46 // [10] *Act. Ap.* 9, 15 // [11] Cf. 1 *Tim.* 6, 12 // * Cf. 2 *Tim.* 4, 7

Ὡς νοῦς ἄχραντος τοῖς τῶν νόων ἀχράντοις συναρμόζεται, ὡς πατριάρχης σοφὸς τοῖς πατριάρχαις, ὡς προφητικὸς δὲ τὴν χάριν τοῖς προφήταις. καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις μὲν ὡς τὸν βίον ἀποστολικώτατος, τοῖς ἱεράρχαις δὲ καὶ διδασκάλοις ὡς ἱερώτατος καὶ τὸν λόγον διδασκαλικώτατος ἑνοῦται, καὶ τοῖς μάρτυσι μὲν ὡς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς τριάδος μαρτυρίαν, τοῖς ὁσίοις δὲ ὡς τὴν ἄσκησιν ἐφάμιλλος. τῇ πρὸς πάντας δὲ κοινωνίᾳ τοῖς πᾶσι συμφυόμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τυχὸν τῶν πάντων ὑπεριδρυμένος, αὐτῇ καθαρῶς τῇ καθαρωτάτῃ τριάδι προσεγγίζει καὶ τοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στεφάνου παρ' αὐτῆς καταξιοῦται· μᾶλλον δὲ στέφανον δόξης ἀμάραντον αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ὑπερκοσμίως περιτίθεται. ἔδει γὰρ τὸν [12] ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγῶνας ὅσους ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατατεινάμενον οἷα στέφανον νίκης καὶ γέρας αὐτὴν ἀξιόνικον ἐν οὐρανοῖς λαβεῖν, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κοπωθέντα καὶ ταπεινωθέντα κόπων αὐτὴν ἄνεσιν καὶ ὕψωσιν εὑρεῖν. ἔδει τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς δόξης [13] καὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἰσοτιμίας πάντα πόνον καὶ κάματον εὐμαρῶς ὑποδεξάμενον καὶ τῇ τούτων δόξῃ διαιωνίως καταλάμπεσθαι.

Ἐνὼχ μὲν οὖν πάλαι γέγραπται εὐηρεστηκέναι μὲν θεῷ, ἐν σαρκὶ δὲ μετατεθεῖσθαι [14], οἷόν τι γέρας θεογνωσίας ὀλίγης ἐκείνην τὴν μετάθεσιν ἀπενεγκάμενος· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐκ Θεσβῶν Ἠλιοὺ λαμπρῶς ἀνειλῆφθαι μετὰ σώματος (ἅρμα γὰρ πυρὸς καὶ ἵπποι πυρὸς ἐξαίροντες οὐκ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰς τὸν [15] οὐρανὸν τοῦτον οἶδ̓ δὴ διφρελάτην ἀνελάμβανον). ὁ δὲ τοσούτῳ κρείττω καὶ θαυμασιωτέραν, εἰ μὴ πολὺ φάναι, τὴν εὐαρέστησιν [16] ἐπιδειξάμενος ὅσῳ τῆς ἐν ταῖς σκιαῖς πίστεως ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τελειοτέρα, καὶ οὗτος πρὸς κύριον μεθίσταται, οὐ τεθρίππῳ πυρίνῳ μετὰ σώματος ὀχούμενος, ἀλλ' ἐνδημῶν μὲν ἔτι τῷ σώματι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ὡς ὀχήματι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνεπτεροῦτο, καὶ ταῖς ὑψηλαῖς φρεσὶ πρὸς τὸν ὕψιστον μετάρσιος ἀνελαμβάνετο, καὶ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων ἐξίστατο θεῷ· ἐκδημῶν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ σώματος καὶ παντάπασι πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ δεσπότην διὰ τῆς μεταστάσεως ἐνδημῶν [17], πάσης αὐτὸν ὑπερκοσμίου στρατιᾶς ὑπερκοσμίως δορυφορούσης καὶ

[12] τῷ A // [13] δόξης B : non liquet A // [14] Cf. *Gen.* 5, 24 // [15] εἰς τόν B ; τήν A // [16] εὐάρτησιν A // [17] ἐκδημῶν A ; cf. 2 *Cor.* 5, 6-8.

δεξιουμένης, τῇ βασιλικωτάτῃ πρὸς πρόσωπον πανευκλεῶς ἐμφανίζεται τριάδι.

29. Nicetas Invokes Gregory.

Ἀλλ', ὦ νοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ πρώτου καὶ θεαρχικωτάτου νοερώτατε μύστα καὶ θεραπευτά, ὦ λόγου ζῶντος τοῦ τῷ πρώτῳ νῷ καὶ πατρὶ μονογενοῦς καὶ συμφυοῦς λογιώτατε κῆρυξ καὶ μυσταγωγέ, ὦ πνεύματος θείου τοῦ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συνηριθμημένου καὶ συντεταγμένου πνευματικώτατε λάτρι καὶ θεολόγε τρανέστατε καὶ περιφανέστατε, ὦ τρανῶς ἡμῖν καὶ σαφῶς τριάδα μὲν ἐν μονάδι[1]*, μονάδα δὲ ἐν τριάδι προσκυνουμένην θεολογῶν, οὗτός σοι παρ' ἡμῶν ὀφειλόμενος ὕμνος. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀξιόχρεως, ἀναντιρρήτως σὸν τοῦτο δῶρον καὶ τῆς σῆς διαπορήσεως ἢ προρρήσεως ἐν τῷ τῶν χρόνων πέρατι περαίωσις. εἰ δὲ πολλῷ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπολειπόμενος, αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν σεραφίμ, ὦ μάκαρ, τῇ ἀπροσίτῳ παρεστηκὼς τριάδι καὶ τὸ τρισάγιον τῷ τρισαγίῳ τρισαγίως*[2] *ἀναφθεγγόμενος μελῴδημα, ἔγγισον ἡμῖν τῷ θείῳ σου πνεύματι καὶ τῷ σεραφικῷ τῶν πυρίνων ἄνθρακι λογίων ἅψαι χειλέων ἀναξίων. καὶ τὰς ἀνομίας περικαθαρίσας καὶ τελειοτέρας πλήσας ἱερογνωσίας καὶ θειοτέρας καταξιώσας τελεσιουργίας, πρῶτον μὲν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα μυσταγωγίας καὶ θεογνωσίας ἐνθεώτερον πλήρωσον τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν καὶ ὑψηλότερον· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν σῶν θαυμασίων ἀρετῶν ἀξιοπρεπεῖς ὑμνητὰς ἀπεργασάμενος, ἐν ταῖς σαῖς ἀμιάντοις καὶ πανακηράτοις ἡμᾶς μεθισταμένους ἐντεῦθεν ὑποδέξαιο σκηναῖς, ὡς ἂν διὰ σοῦ τρανοτέρας τε*[3] *καὶ θεοπρεπεστέρας δόξης καὶ χάριτος ὑπερπλησθέντες σὺν σοὶ δόξαν ἀξίως δοῦναι καταξιωθῶμεν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, τῇ μιᾷ θεότητι καὶ βασιλείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.*

29. — [1] *μονά* B // [2] om. A // [3] om. B.

ENCOMIUM OF NICETAS THE PAPHLAGONIAN IN HONOR OF GREGORY THE GREAT, THE THEOLOGIAN, ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE

1. *Exordium*

I shall eulogize Gregory the Great even though he surpasses my eulogies. For eloquence is the right thing, and not only the right thing but also altogether the fitting thing for one who is himself the most eloquent and best teacher of all eloquence. Nor ought I to shrink from the attempt because I might seem rash to many for attempting the unattainable or because it is inevitable not only for us, who are far inferior to him, to fall below his worthy talent but also for those who seem to have reached the summit of genius. Certainly, in the case of the greatest deeds, if one cannot rise to their grandeur in his discourse, it is still a great thing even to have a tolerable hold on the subject. And, since Gregory has been generated and perfected by the living God, the Word, the Reason, and has been made to resemble Him, how would it not be more reasonable to deem Gregory worthy, in accordance with our ability, of the honor which derives from words? Therefore, let Gregory be eulogized because by deeds and words throughout his whole life he suffered mortification with exceeding patience on behalf of the Word, and so it is equally right and holy that he be adorned, as with flowers, with eulogies consisting of words.

I am speaking of Gregory, who is named after most divine theology, or, to put it more exactly, I am speaking of theology itself. For just as the true Light, which has come into being among us for our benefit, being Wisdom and Justice and Redemption, is named after these in a sense that is more than just derivative (for such divine appellations are more actual and more appropriate for divine beings ; the essence of the appellation corresponds to actuality), so, too, this divine man, who mixed supernatural theology into his whole way of thinking and kneaded it thoroughly with his mind, who, to put it another way, was made theology's prisoner once and for all, this man both is and is named in fact « theology ». How then is it possible for the praise directed toward Gregory not to be attributed directly to theology? But the praise of theology would be the praise of the perfect and divine Wisdom that is revealed to the perfect. Of this Wisdom

Gregory was a lover such as no one else I know among those who from time immemorial have chosen to be lovers of wisdom. He followed its paths; he was initiated in holy secrecy into the knowledge of its mysterious and hidden ways; he perfected the inner man to that degree of spirituality and divinity as was likely to be perfected by one perfectly begotten by the highest Wisdom. Indeed like a divine vehicle or supernatural offspring he had been fashioned by the most divine Word through a supernatural life and reason.

Now just as one who fixes his sight on an object exposed to the sun necessarily takes in the light that is intermingled with that object in the act of seeing, so one who directs his tongue toward Gregory the Great in a panegyric also undeniably touches upon the praises of the theology implanted within him, that is, wisdom and virtue. For these qualities were cultivated and attained by Gregory both on the theoretical and practical level, not after the fashion of secular intellectuals but through the simple imitation of the apostles, not in accord with pagan love of honor but in accord with the teaching of the gospel and therefore they seem in a way to form one nature and essence with Gregory. It would not be too much to say that these qualities are Gregory; he has been so thoroughly integrated with them that it is only with difficulty and by fine mental distinctions that he can be separated from them. And just as this body of air, when imbued with the sun's rays and completely and utterly filled with the brightness emanating from it, provides a single fullness of light for the eyes, in much the same way this man, too, after contemplating these spiritual rays of the great sun of justice and after superhumanly comprehending all its incomprehensible radiance and mingling it with the incorporeal being of his soul, is seen to be so much more joined with his proper light than was the air we have spoken about. The truth of this can be seen in the fact that after the air has been illuminated by the visible ray for a short period of time, it is immediately filled with night and mist upon the ray's withdrawal. Gregory, on the other hand, once he approached the rays already mentioned and was illuminated by them with righteousness of mind so that he manifestly became a son of intelligible light (the light was transformed, that is, sealed in him without a word spoken), not only remains eternally inseparable from his Begetter but also becomes and is seen to be a spiritual and pure light not just for himself alone but for those who are sincerely devoted to him.

Accordingly, having a firm conviction in what we have said, let us also with spiritual hands seize the spiritual rays, the rays emanating from Gregory and extending from heaven down to us. Let us direct our words to the height of his virtue and wisdom and pay heed to the depth of his holy theology. Then let us look upon the height and breadth of the theologian's achievements, being, as it were, reflections, or divine illuminations, gathered together and caused to shine for us. And let us strain towards him with the direct gaze of the mind's eye

and give to him the first fruits of our praises as a gift both suitable and dear to him.

As for me, grant me an attentive ear, a prudent understanding, and a mind purified of worldly, or fleshly, troubles, all of you, that is, who desire to exult in a manner befitting theological hymns. And certainly the oration must needs be very advantageous and salvific not only for those who sincerely give forth inspired hymns but also for those who listen to them with understanding.

2. *Gregory's Native Land, Family, Birth, Education, Natural Endowments*

As for those things which clung to him on this earth like shadows following the body, I think it best to pass them over as not being very relevant to the praise of those matters we have just mentioned. This is especially the case since the former things have already been written about by numerous authors and are known to all, even if we do not mention them. What things do I mean? Such topics as the following. For instance, the fame of his native land, a fame which the man we are eulogizing did not derive from his native land, but which, on the contrary, he gave to her through the spread of his virtue. For truly just as Christ, who was born in Bethlehem, is not famous on account of that city, but rather Bethlehem is on the lips of all because of Him, so, too, Gregory has not become renowned on account of Nazianzus, from which he sprang, but Nazianzus has become well known to the ends of the earth because of him. There is also the splendor of his family. This splendor is not limited to all that Gregory himself is seen to inherit from the parents who bore him in holy wedlock, though there can be no doubt that his most holy parents were most splendid models of virtue for him. This splendor likewise includes all that he in turn gave to them by means of the grandeur of his deeds and the renown of his nobility of character. Then there is the manner of his birth. As in the case of the voice that was forerunner of the Word, as in the case of that famous Samuel, who was holy from his mother's womb, Gregory, too, was called without doubt the fruit of his mother's vow and faith. We could speak of his education, which was the epitome of culture and refinement, the sort of education that ought to prepare one who was going to be the most holy powerhouse of virtue. As for his nature, it was ardent and the kind to attempt great projects in youth ; his sagacity and magnanimity of soul met that standard which one who is making ready therein a dwelling place of wisdom ought to manifest at an early age.

3. *Studies Abroad*

In addition to all these, one could mention the travels and changes of residence which he undertook to acquire a well-rounded education.

For instance, his moving from Nazianzus to Caesarea, from Caesarea to Palestine, from Palestine to Alexandria, and from there to Greece. One could relate the great preeminence of Athens in the field of rhetoric, the city where Gregory was a companion of the divine Basil, who was living there to gain a like education. With minds harmoniously disposed and in a spirit of good-fellowship these two shared not only the same dwelling place and living conditions but also the noblest of studies and the equality of every virtue. From Athens Gregory came to Byzantium, only recently elevated to the capital of the world. And just as the rest of the earth's wealth was brought to this city in tribute, Byzantium being the queen of cities, so, too, during those days the most powerful thing of all, rhetoric, was being conveyed to her, as the most powerful of cities.

Here Gregory frequented the best scholars, and, having become sufficiently proficient in every aspect of grammar and poetry, he studied rhetoric thoroughly. And when he had brought to a successful conclusion all the studies useful for rhetorical power and fluency, he investigated and learned to the fullest extent not only all of practical philosophy (ethics and physics) but all the more theoretical and metaphysical branches of philosophy. He culled the best from all his studies and, in a word, from all secular wisdom and knowledge and thereby beautifully prepared himself in advance for the study of those matters which are beyond understanding. In this way Gregory consecrated his whole thought and intelligence completely to the Trinity, which even before his birth had known and predestined him to be its holy theologian, while to his fatherland and forefathers he gave his pure body and even purer soul.

4. *Gregory's Spiritual Achievements and Baptism*

Let him who wishes narrate these matters at length and speculate upon them, thereby showing, in no cursory manner, the power of rhetoric in dealing with the elementary doings and secondary movements of the great man — if, at any rate, it is possible even in such matters to say something worthy of the wisdom and genius of that man. On our part, however, we must sing the praises of the great bishop and theologian himself not drawing upon trifles but important matters. We have to deal not with profane matters, external to him, but with his own proper achievements, done in the spirit of the gospel and through faith, namely, his virtue and wisdom and theology, as we noted earlier. This we shall do, inviting him to be present as a helper to our eulogy and to support our laboring speech with his right hand.

Gregory, then, is godlike in mind and heart. He is inimitable in deed and superhuman in contemplation. He investigates in the Spirit all the things of God and judges them, though he himself, as the divine Apostle writes, is judged by no one. He is the mighty

offspring of heavenly thunder. In time only did he fall short of the first son of thunder, not in the eloquent expression of sacred teachings nor in the lightning of his divine thought, because of which the consubstantiality of the threefold Godhead has been more splendidly acknowledged, because of which, too, Gregory has been deemed worthy of the same epithet as John the Evangelist. Intensely and more clearly than all those before him he gave a theological explanation of a trinity of individuals adored in a unified Godhead and of a unified nature adored in a trinity of individualities. After Gregory had first been educated in all human wisdom and virtue, after he had been sufficiently exercised in piety of mind and heart, after he had, with the help of the Spirit, made himself a perfect instrument worthy of God, he approached the ablution of rebirth, receiving baptism, to speak boldly, not as a purging of filth but as a brighter illumination of the soul, submitting to the Spirit of grace not as a wiping away of sins but as a sharing in greater gifts.

Thus having started a second way of life, the best and most perfect, he began to leave behind completely the more carnal manner of living and, in a way, to separate himself from earthly and animal wisdom and virtue. Rising above every wordly love, he was redirecting himself toward the spirit alone. He determined to follow only the law of the spirit, to submit to this norm alone. After achieving a deep-hearted and most resplendent love for the virtue and wisdom that is made firm in the divine Spirit, he began to bend toward perfection every unjust path, and, following all the divine commandments, he was pursuing by every manner of means the most desirable thing of all, Christ. Now children, while still infants, engage in infantile manners and activities and habits and in the kind of reasoning that befits infants. However, in advancing to adulthood, they accordingly proceed to adult ideas and ways, their infantile manner of life falling into disuse because of their maturity. In much the same way, this great man put aside all the culture he had imbibed before baptism — all that had been cultivated by him through word and deed — considering it to be a child's wisdom ; or rather, he used this culture as a propaedeutic to acquiring perfection and thoroughly fulfilled in fact the words of the Apostle, « forgetting the things that are behind and straining ahead toward those that are in front, to the goal, for the prize to which God calls us upward ».

5. *Retreat to the Wilderness : Gregory Strives for the Active Virtues and the Contemplative Virtues*

Realizing that there were two separate ways of viewing philosophy, not only among non-Christians but among Christians as well, that is, as either practical or theoretical, Gregory left secular philosophy to the profane and busied himself only with the philosophy that is spiritual. He conceived legitimate philosophy to consist in breaking

away from the world and rising above all its confusion and disorder, on the one hand, and, on the other, in mingling with the first and purest Light alone by means of a pure life and thought. This was the goal towards which he strove with all zeal and painstaking asceticism. And he knew that he could in no wise achieve his desire unless he both practiced virtue on his own part and was held worthy of the cooperation of the Spirit from above. For the acquisition and perfection of the good are mutually related : the Spirit plants the seeds, while we supply the labor, each doing his proper part; the Spirit mystically brings about in us the inclination and activity directed toward the good and we follow the wish of the Spirit and cooperate with the Prudent One through our minds' intent. It was in recognition of this and with the knowledge that the preoccupations of town and city life sometimes stand in the way of those who are just beginning to be disposed toward the cultivation, that is, the achievement, of the highest philosophy that that man of great prudence suddenly broke away from his parents and relatives, broke away from the concerns of this world.

Lifting up his feet he was led to the desert by the Spirit. Now, the mighty voice that was the precursor of the Word, the excellent John, he who by reason of his nearness to the one who was the object of prophecies was attested to be greater than all the prophets, this John was first schooled by the desert and by God, and he rose above creation because of the special manner of his life and his extraordinary apprehension of things divine; he drew near to the Creator and thereafter, walking before the face of the Lord, he made ready His paths. In the same way, Gregory, also, first gladly cast aside the troubles and turmoils of this world and lifted up his mind to an untroubled life free of all evil, becoming by his divine contemplations as godlike as possible. Then he was sent forth from the desert not only as a herald of repentance and baptism for men but also as a most perfect teacher of the most perfect Trinity. My speech will show this as it proceeds.

Gregory made Basil the Great his companion and co-worker in the philosophy of the spirit just as he had earlier made him his companion and co-worker in the philosophy of this world. Furthermore, he established the Spirit as teacher to his thought. In this way, Gregory together with Basil strove to possess all the virtues, pursuing the active virtues by activity and the contemplative virtues by contemplation, or rather, approaching the contemplative virtues by activity and becoming intimate with the active virtues by contemplation.

What, then, was the nature of Gregory's activity? For I think it necessary to describe this before dealing with contemplation, and so we shall outline the virtues through which activity is made splendid and perfect. What virtues do I mean? First, a steadfast and most pure tranquillity, a tranquillity of both soul and body. Indeed it was not by a mere change of scene that he escaped the disturbances of city and country life. Rather, with steadfast mind he turned inwards

toward himself and thereby towards God. Thus the pursuit of tranquillity was the work of his character, since he had been deemed worthy of a calm and gentle disposition of mind, a disposition through which, as through a shining and spotless mirror, he would receive the reflections of heaven-sent illuminations uncontaminated by erroneous impressions from earth. Secondly, he possessed a steadfast and enduring gift of meditation. He meditated on the holy words of the Spirit, words spoken truly and mysteriously, not with the lips alone but with the heart. In fact, these words were inscribed clearly upon his heart, not in ink but in spirit. To meditation he added prayer as its proper companion and kept his heart inseparable from God. For just as he was desirous of consecrating his body to God through tranquillity and his soul through meditation, so, too, he would join his mind to the Father through ceaseless prayers.

The whole soul of man is observed to consist of these three parts — reason, emotion, appetite. And it is fitting that the reason, as the most authoritative part, be the ruler while the other two parts serve as its subjects. For in this way a man's perfection is established by virtues corresponding to each part of the soul. Now, even in these matters Gregory manifests the summit of philosophy. He is not satisfied merely to set self-control as guardian over his appetite for food and sleep, thereby forestalling the greatest part of need. He also has it take charge of all sensations, defining norms and limits, and eradicating all desire and yearning for transient beauty and perishable things, and training and curbing every movement of his limbs, subordinating them to his more powerful reason. Furthermore, Gregory arms his gentleness with the weapons of emotion. Through this gentleness all bitterness and anger of soul are purged along with blasphemy and cries of fury; all evil and wrath, which are the offshoots of emotion, are utterly rooted out, while from his perfect gentleness, as from a root, all goodness and nobleness blossom forth within him.

He clothes his reason with humility, the best adornment, and thereby puts down all empty and haughty reasoning, curbing every exaltation of pride which might raise itself up against superior knowledge. For truly just as reason is on its guard to restrain the appetite's intemperance by means of self-control and to restrain the unreasonable drive of the emotions by means of gentleness, so, too, by restraining its own pride through humility and rendering itself both rational and moderate, it makes itself a prisoner to the obedience of Christ.

As the lily has sweet fragrance as its natural attribute, these virtues once they have been established, are accompanied by the mastery of the passions, the departure of the passions, the uprooting and removal of all passions, those of the soul as well as those of the body, the blessed and untroubled state, the life of the angels, the pledge of future happiness. Having reached this point and having made it a seventh step of his active ascent, Gregory then added thereto as a kind of most fair crown the best and most singular triad of virtues,

namely, faith, hope, and charity. His faith was placed in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one Divinity and Power and Kingdom, on his lips a pure confession, in his heart and mind an unshakeable understanding and assent. His hope was the expectation of the more perfect manifestation or revelation in the future of those very things he now beheld but dimly through faith. His charity was the highest point of the climb up this spiritual ladder; it was the sum of the law and the prophets, the bond of perfection, the close and immediate union and adhesion of his own mind to God through Jesus Christ in the Spirit.

With all these virtues, then, that are achieved through activity Gregory combines in equal number those that are perfected through spiritual contemplation. The latter virtues are, in the first place, the operations of the Spirit, those which were spoken of as seven spirits by Isaiah. They first and properly came to rest upon the Root of Jesse, Christ, and secondly they came to rest upon all Christ's other followers by reason of their fellowship with Him and most especially they mystically came to rest upon the subject of our panegyric, who through his understanding activated these operations and contemplated them, or rather, was activated and perfected by them. What indeed are these virtues? First of all, he lays down wisdom as his foundation, or more correctly, he sets the fear of the Lord underneath, since it is the basic root of wisdom; fear of the Lord is undefiled, as David says, and lasts from age to age. On this fear he nails his flesh and instructs and purifies his soul and mind, rising to the height of divine wisdom.

To fear of the Lord Gregory adds fortitude and counsel. Through fortitude he is made courageous and strengthened against the passions as well as against demons; and not only is he made strong against them but even against the very ruler who governs the air, and not only against him but also against the sons of disobedience themselves, who are stirred on by him. It was against these that Gregory was to be locked in a timely struggle. Through the spirit of counsel, on the other hand, Gregory aimed at what was profitable for himself as well as for all or at least the largest number of men. Like a wise servant he did not approve his own soul's will; on the contrary, he approved the all-good and perfect will of his Master, which he fixed firmly in the depths of his mind and thereby turned aside from every evil desire.

Gregory's true beliefs and straightness of character led him to pursue piety. For he was strained and purified of every strange idea, of every profane word, and of every alien color of the heretics until, being transformed by the newness of Christ's mind, he was set entirely on the straight course to piety.

As for knowledge, which is the contemplation of the intelligible and knowable, being comparable to the vision of the visible, Gregory possessed such an excess of this virtue that he purged himself of all things and was transformed in mind and raised to angelic heights

of contemplation. If you could fathom the abyss and count the drops of rain and the days of eternity, you might comprehend, too, the depth of understanding that the Scriptures poured forth to Gregory. For, though the meaning of the sacred Scriptures, like a rose still in its pod, has been concealed through the ambiguity of its language, Gregory, with the Spirit's help, unfolded this meaning so that it was clear, and he was filled with the sweet odor of the understanding of the Scriptures, wherefore straightway and in a manner that is all-holy he plucked the all-holy flower of wisdom. For it is the Word existing with the Father before all time and knowing with Him co-eternally that is the living and self-substantial wisdom ; yet the words of the Word, by means of which the Word is perceived after a hidden and holy fashion by those who pursue them with understanding, these, too, are wisdom. The theologian's comprehension of the incomprehensible was so much more clear and sure inasmuch as, being in happy possession of a more perfect understanding, he enjoyed the fruits of even the words of wisdom better and more perfectly than all.

6. *Gregory's Contemplation of the Trinity as the Summit of Virtues : His Understanding of the Mystery of the Trinity*

In this way, then, the spiritual Israel, who really sees God, joins together the active and contemplative virtues and, like a skilled architect, places them against each other and fits them together to form a ladder. He uses these virtues to put up steps in his heart, steps which he instinctively directs towards heaven. As the final step he sets up the contemplation of Mind and Word and Spirit, and thereby he has clearly become united to the One majesty of the Trinity itself, which has been made to rest upon this ladder.

I believe that the Mind was understood by Gregory to be the active and living uncaused cause of the Word and the Spirit and was taken to be the image of the supra-existence of the Father. The Word was understood to be that which is contemplated, a sort of object of the Mind, a most exact impress of the nature of the Begetter, the Mind. Again, the Spirit was understood to be that which, on the one hand, has the Mind as its cause and first principle — somewhat as water in a stream has its source — and, on the other hand, flows forward like a river by means of the Word, its current. Indeed just as the Word was understood to be an exemplar of the supra-existential offspring's oneness of nature with its begetter, so Gregory saw the Spirit as an image of the divine procession's equality of honor with the cause of its procession. Such was the height of vision to which the great and divinely wise mind of Gregory mounted through contemplation and activity. By means of the mind and reason and spirit within, he conversed with and lived in the company of the most divine Mind and Word and Spirit itself. His mind was filled to over-

flowing with the most pure spiritual illuminations; it was deemed worthy of the mysteries that are beyond reason.

But what is the nature of the mystery? For I think it a good thing for us to recall this, too, to the best of our ability, in order that we might also get some impression, as we have with the rest of Gregory's virtues, of his discourse and learning in sacred studies. What therefore is the mystery? It is a God conceived to be in three persons; a God primarily and exclusively and properly existing, existing, not coming into existence (though this latter mode of being was observed later in the case of the Son and His incarnation); a God giving life, not receiving life, emanating light, not mirroring light, sanctifying, not being sanctified; a God without a beginning, without an end, everlasting, supremely existent, supremely alive, supremely divine, creator of all being, creator of all power, creator of all activity, possessing in Himself beforehand in a unified and concentrated manner the causes, in a word, of all beings, whether spiritual, rational, or sensible.

And before any being had yet been introduced into existence, there existed the true and primal light, the Father of Lights, from whom, from all eternity, the Son and Word proceeds as a supremely radiant, equally true and primal light; it is an incorporeal light proceeding from an incorporeal light, an incomprehensible and unknowable light proceeding from an incomprehensible and unknowable light. For the Son's existence is known to His Father alone and He alone knows His Father. Now, a ray is always joined to the sun, and light, in turn, to the ray, if, at any rate, one must illustrate the infinite by examples. In the same way, the Son is joined to and accompanies the Father, while the light and Spirit of the Father are joined to and accompany the Son. And just as our sun can never exist separately from a ray and light, neither can the Father of Lights be conceived apart from the Word and the Spirit. For truly these latter are similar to fruits growing from a self-engendered and primary cause; they spring from the Father, equally honored and forming a part of the whole divinity that perfects all, and in Him they possess an existence that is co-eternal. If three lamps of equal quality burn simultaneously in a home, the light of all three is seen as one, though the difference among the lamps in question is not blurred by reason of the unified light, since each is distinguished from its equal by its own characteristics. Likewise, though one existence or divinity is perceived in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, there is an unchangeable attribute belonging to each, in virtue of which the trinity of persons is made perfectly clear.

What then are the attributes? Without doubt they are ingenerateness, generation, procession. For the Father is ungenerated because He is subject to no principle or cause; on the other hand, He is himself first and principle cause of everything thought to be or called a cause or principle. The Son is generated as a word generated by the Father's mind. The Holy Spirit is caused to proceed as a pure emana-

tion from the Father's existence. And just as the Son is a perfect image of the Father's form and glory, so, too, the Spirit is of the Son. Now, our mind, which is called a kind of font of the inner word within us, is likewise the cause of the word that is uttered and perceived by the senses; it mysteriously gives birth to the concept, or a living image of itself, and, in turn, sends forth the word as an image of the concept. In an analogous manner, it being possible to speculate about the greatest matters with the help of the lesser, the incomprehensible and primal Mind gives birth to the innate and substantial Word as another self before all time, and by causing the Spirit, or utterance of His power, to proceed as a second Word He thereby renders all creation perfect.

What we worship, then, is revealed as a trinity in a unity and a unity in a trinity, a trinity of persons, a unity of essence. It is immutable, equal in honor, undefiled in nature; it shares the same glory, the same throne, the same essence, one will, one activity, the same potency, one power, authority, and kingdom undivided. For in no way do the Mind's emanations differ from it, except that the Mind, existing without a cause, is ever a cause, either by way of generation or procession, to those that emanate from it.

7. *Gregory's Teachings on Created Beings : Man's Fall and Redemption*

In this manner, then, our saint was instructed in the holiest of holy mysteries, insofar, at least, as it is possible to present them in a few words. And when through faith he had founded his mind firmly upon this theology, he also adapted to it his divine discourses about created beings. Here, I think, it is no less worthwhile to recall these discourses, though briefly and concisely, drawing upon his holy words. Gregory sums up creation under two orders. He considers one order to be intelligible, the other to be sensible. The former is primary and related to God and intellectual, the latter secondary and foreign to divinity and material. He distinguishes one from the other by the most philosophical of reasoning. For the one order is spiritual and like some kind of fiery and godlike essence (these are the angelic and incorporeal natures); the other order is physical and held together and joined to itself; it is composed of that which embraces this universe and of the four elements.

As evidence of a greater skill, a single living being was compounded by the Architect, the Word, by mixing together the opposing orders. This being was flesh inasmuch as it was molded of the earth's matter; it was spirit inasmuch as it was a result of infusion and a likeness of the Infuser. This whole mixture, which is man, is composed of mind and sense perception, so that by means of his sense perception he deals with sensible reality and by means of his mind he deals with intelligible realities and is like both of them.

According to Scripture, man was placed in Paradise as a spectator of uncontaminated creatures or divine purposes. However, he was brought down by the wiles of a wicked serpent and inopportunely fastened on to a manner of thinking unsuited to him. As a result he was justly sent away from his Maker and from the joy of Paradise. Thereupon he exchanged a painless and immortal life for sweat and toil and death. Thereupon he became hard to bridle, hard to guide, or rather, altogether incurable whether by reason and law, judges and prophets, or any kind of benefaction or rebuke, and thus he stood in need of the first and foremost source of help. This was the Word of God himself, who, though without a body, became flesh through a virgin's blood for the sake of the flesh and was joined to an intelligent soul for the sake of the soul, raising up our dead nature through His death and bringing it to a more divine life.

8. *Spiritual Enlightenment and Nourishment Found in the Wilderness Is Preparation for Gregory's Ministry among Men*

Such thoughts were the objects of the theologian's philosophizing while in Pontus. They were contemplated there in a speculative fashion by his mind and afterwards they were set forth in the manner of the theologian by his words. Here was the fruit of his solitude and silence, as his own words about himself have bidden me to relate without exaggeration or underestimation. Accordingly, like no one else either of the past or of later times Gregory applied himself to the study of the Old and New Testaments, and under the tutelage of the divine Spirit he was educated in the exact knowledge of every divine utterance and in the highest conception of the truth. And when he had thus perfected his own mind as a garden belonging to God and filled it with all the sweetest fruit and every good idea, he first set out to help those holy fathers who especially desired his spiritual and material assistance and then he went to all those who chose to follow the orthodox faith, offering himself for the common weal.

Now, Peter, the most honored primate and crown of Christ's disciples, as well as the whole divine company of apostles, after first following the infinitely divine Jesus most sincerely and being schooled by the word of faith, were purified in mind of every defilement and were filled with every illumination of divine knowledge. And later, when the Spirit had been more perfectly manifested and they had participated more abundantly in the divine life, they were themselves sent forth as saviors to all nations. This same course of events reveals itself in Gregory's case. First he was united to God the Spirit by means of his ardent faith and in virtue of his silence, and he studied the Scriptures and spent time in contemplation. It was only after he had been perfectly purified of every trace of evil, enlightened by every divine illumination, and deemed worthy of a more perfect

inspiration, or life, of the Spirit and thereby conceived, as James says, by the word of truth, it was only then that he was himself sent forth, even as the apostles had been, a first fruit of God's creatures.

The first man, deemed worthy of the image and hand of God and of the joy of Paradise, when he had slipped from the life in the Spirit through the pleasure of the flesh, became for men the originator of birth according to the flesh, and, since he had rejected through his imprudence the angelic and immortal form of life, he was called father of the form of life that is subject to suffering and death. Gregory, in contrast, first put on the image of the first, earth-born man. For he was a man. Afterwards, he rejected the old Adam and put on the new, heavenly Adam, and he was born and perfected in the second Adam's image. For he was more than man. As a result, Gregory was viewed by his contemporaries as a kind of source and root of generation according to the Spirit. For through the power of Word and Spirit he was planting the message of the orthodox faith, like an undefiled seed, in the hearts of all, nourishing it and causing it to ripen by means of continual confessions of faith, which were like thunderstorms, until he brought it to spiritual maturity. By so doing, he became, in the first place, a spiritual father to his own flesh and blood parents ; in the second place, he extended this most beautiful and spiritual adoption to those beyond his natural family.

When Gregory had shown himself a most wondrous and entirely exact model of virtue, he first made public his excuses for his retreat to Pontus. He said that he had become possessed with the fair desire for solitude and for the spiritual way of life and therefore shunned the tumult of cities. His purpose was to observe himself thereby as in the clearest mirror and by means of a more perfect purification to put the final seal on the chrism of the holy priesthood that had previously been laid upon him through the Spirit, thus securing that divine gift for himself, so that he might be able to be a pure companion of the most pure. Later, Gregory gave an example of the dignity of the priesthood, of the sort of man one ought to be who is going to preside over a bishopric, of the kind of words one ought to use to govern creatures endowed with reason. By his words he passed on the most beautiful and philosophical ideas to others ; by his deeds and splendid struggles he authenticated and fulfilled his own words.

9. *The Activities of Gregory's Ministry at Nazianzus*

What then were Gregory's deeds ? And let us consider how deserving they are of discussion and how suitable to a great man. For what else were they if not worthy of the soul and faith of a theologian ? First there was the beauty and majesty of the temple erected through his concern and ardor and truly consecrated as a second heaven on earth to the one who inhabits the heavens. Yet this was one of Gregory's less spectacular achievements. For what is so great about a

man who through his virtues has built himself into a temple worthy of God if he has given his father the largest contribution for constructing a temple of stone?

Then there were the many times he honored his parents, honors rendered by words, honors rendered by deeds. There were the many times he protected orphans, gave aid to widows, stood by the poor, took care of the aged, the sick, the beggar. Some of these works he accomplished on his own and in his own country, others he did in collaboration with his friend Basil. Nor was it by activity alone that Gregory contributed his resources to the care of such matters, but by words of supernatural counsel as well he rekindled even stony hearts and moved them to love of the poor. Gregory set himself against his enemies, opposing them and disputing with them; to his friends, however, he gave help and direction in their faith, a help and direction that was spiritual rather than material, since all were governed and shepherded by his word and rule. By this time Gregory's brother Caesarius was dead and it had fallen to his father's lot to administer the country's episcopal throne. His father, however, was burdened by old age and worn out by sickness and unable to bear the duties and troubles of the church, and so Gregory was everything to him: an underpinning of his old age, a remedy for his illnesses, a support for his body, a comfort for his soul, a consolation for his spirit, and, most of all, a guard over his thoughts and a righter of his storm-tossed faith.

10. *The Spread of Arianism and Gregory's Opposition to it at Nazianzus*

As a matter of fact, some such thing occurred at Nazianzus. In those days the madness of Arianism had expanded throughout almost the entire world and novel teachings directed against the equality of the persons of the Trinity had spread like a plague or gangrene into every land and city. Kings and rulers and the common people were won over, and, worst of all, so were evil bishops, who were shaken by fear of those who are wont to hold power or were beguiled by gifts or enticed by blandishments or, perhaps the most tolerable thing of all, were deceived by ignorance. In those days it was possible to see churches being razed to the ground, shrines being robbed and defiled by blood, and sacred and holy objects being stolen, profaned, or, as the proverb puts it, kicked and trod upon by unwashed feet. In those days the whole orthodox and pious part of the Church was being shamelessly pushed aside and deprived of what was its own; and by means of public imprisonments or harsh starvations or fierce floggings or every manner of torture or dreadful exiles or, in a word, most loathsome pressures, this part of the Church was being besieged and was in danger of utter destruction unless it agreed to the heterodox view. But the orthodox left the cities and deserted to the wilds

willingly, preferring to make their abode with mindless beasts rather than live in the company of those who dared speak blasphemy against God. The heterodox and impious, on the other hand, after occupying the churches, considering these a kind of citadel and fortification for this wickedness of theirs, pursued those who had chosen orthodoxy and persecuted them. Now, it was under such circumstances as these that like some violent onrush of waters the pollution of heresy also broke against Gregory's land and swept away, that is, destroyed, as many as it found weak and unsound. There is the story that even Gregory's father, led on by the simplicity of his judgment, agreed with the heterodox in words, though not in mind. Yet all who were fixed firm upon the rock of Gregory's theology and faith remained secure from every insult and outrage of the heretics.

Noah, who lived very long ago, led a life that was blameless amid blameworthy contemporaries. And since he had found grace before God, it was revealed to him that the utter destruction of the world by flood was imminent. Moreover, he was instructed in the means to escape those evils. When he had made a well-proportioned ark from timbers and had led the offspring of all animals together within it and had secured his wife and children therein, he escaped the downpour of the heavens and the unending streams of water, being preserved as a seed and first fruit of a second life. Gregory, in comparison, realized that the intellectual cataclysm brought on by heresies was far more serious than the cataclysm of Noah's day inasmuch as the cataclysm which harms souls is far more harmful than that which destroys bodies. And so, having made the Church of his own day his ark and having secured it by unbreakable and orthodox teachings, he most willingly welcomed aboard not only his own relatives and friends but strangers as well, whomever the protecting hand of God led to him, and he fed these with nourishing and most wholesome instruction on the Trinity, thereby preserving them untouched by any cataclysm of soul.

While Noah, who probably had his own times alone in view, achieved the rescue of only his eight closest relatives, Gregory was more concerned about the people in general than about his own salvation, and he showed forethought for schismatics no less than for those who were returning to orthodoxy. By the power of his oratory and spirit and the full measure of his orthodox faith he concealed his father's failure and removed every scandal that had crept in because of him. By words of peace Gregory tempered ungovernable zeal and reconciled the opposition to his father. Moreover, through his sincere and pure confession of the Divinity he bound to the great and factionless body of the Church a people special to the Lord and zealous for good works, and he saved them through his wise shepherding. Therefore, to the extent that one who brings spiritual salvation from utter annihilation of soul will surpass one who brings freedom from physical destruction and to the extent that one who saves thousands will surpass one who saves a few, to that extent Gregory would outshine Noah in fame,

11. *Gregory Consecrated as Bishop*

But why do I think to lengthen my speech by dwelling on Gregory's lesser accomplishments, when it is necessary to leave room for the greater of his marvels and to make him known more perfectly through the more perfect of his accomplishments?

That the holy are made holy before birth by the one who is above holiness, just as sinners come out sinners from the womb, has been witnessed to by the Spirit of God. For with Him the knowledge of past and future events is equally infallible and most certain. Different people have been predestined to exercise different types of leadership roles. This might be administrative or legislative authority over a nation, or a popular, democratic leadership, or a priestly precedence, or a prophetic vision, or a marvelous activity, or an apostolic grace, or a martyr's contest, or, in sum, a spiritual service. Yet each fulfills his own role appropriately. As for Gregory, he had been entrusted with the highest level of theology and was sent to illuminate with brilliant light both the trinity of Persons and the unity of the Godhead for all the world. For though restricted by physical limitations to a small area of the world, he radiated the luminous rays of theology to the whole universe. Some men he drew to the light of life, namely all those of more powerful reason and piety; others he filled with darkness and indecision and confusion, not by reason of his own nature and purpose, but by reason of their ill will, namely, all those belonging to the perdition of heresy.

It was necessary for Gregory also to be consecrated to the mystery of the episcopacy. For since his work led him to perform not only a bishop's but also an apostle's office, he had to be fully perfected by holy orders. Moreover, it was necessary that this be done not by the profane but by the holy, not by those unworthy of the profession of faith, those who dare to dissect even the Divinity into disconnected divergencies, but by the most trusted stewards of grace and most sincere servants of the Trinity. Of these latter there happened to be none present at that time except Gregory's father, Gregory, and Basil. His father readily appointed his son of the same name and character as himself to the episcopacy, while Basil, who had recently been entrusted with the see of Caesarea, laid his hands upon Gregory, adding spirit to spirit, anointing to anointing. Or, to express it more correctly, the two bishops used sacred rites to perfect what was external, while the Spirit, recognizing its own ally from of old, had remained completely present within Gregory. And since it was altogether obligatory that during his ordination he be canonically named to some city or place, the two bishops appointed Gregory to a small, arid diocese, unsuitable for living, let alone for a bishop's seat, believing, I suppose, that he was capable of compensating through his oratory for what was lacking to the place. It seems that the Spirit, in turn, since it planned a more divine role for Gregory, neither stood

in the way of such an appointment on their part nor thought it right to appoint him at that time to a greater see. For if Gregory had been appointed to an ancient and very famous church, perhaps it would have been necessary for him to have been settled stably in it and not to be able to move easily from place to place, seeing that the holy canon forbids changes of sees ; and thus the greatest of cities would have suffered the loss of its own greatest archbishop and shepherd.

At any rate, Gregory agreed to the holy consecration. Even this he accepted under duress (for truly he was, if any man, no lover of honors), except inasmuch as it came from the hand of the Most High. And knowing through the Spirit for what work the divine grace of God was appointing him, he completely renounced the diocese of Sasima. Instead, by assisting the piety of those who till then were his holy fathers, and by uniting his father's flock through the words and deeds of a knowledgeable shepherd, and by using the role of bishop in his native land as a kind of training and preparation, he was being made ready for his role as bishop of the queen of cities, or rather, of the world. And having received the pledge of heavenly perfection, he seemed to be rushing towards it, and through his endurance he was laying hold of the divine promises.

Now, Abraham, the most renowned of the patriarchs, entertained three men as a type of the Trinity ; or more correctly, beneath an oak he provided refreshment and hospitality to the Trinity appearing in the form of three men. Therefore Abraham was deemed worthy of blessings from God and received a most fair promise in return for that hospitality. What, in fact, was this promise ? Sarah, contrary to all hope and in spite of her advanced age, would bear a child, and Abraham's seed would be multiplied in number beyond the stars of the heavens and would inherit and possess a good land. Gregory, in contrast, had actually welcomed, not three men, but three Persons of the Divinity and, not a type of the Trinity, but the Trinity itself (and this he did not when They came to him on a single occasion, but inasmuch as They were with him always in a most mysterious way), and he feasted Them splendidly and with show of honor, giving Them no non-rational nourishment but living words and thoughts that were true and really worthy of the Trinity itself. Then, too, Gregory was not found worthy of the greatest blessings and unfailing promises because he refreshed Them beneath a tree in the shade ; rather it was because he received Them hospitably beneath the depth of his contemplations. Indeed Gregory received as true promises a multitude of children, children not of the flesh but of the spirit, not like the visible stars in their number and beauty but like the numinal ones ; and he received possession of a land, not one trodden upon by various lawless nations at various times but one belonging to the humble, that is, the possession of heaven.

And Abraham afterwards, when he was put to the test of bringing his only-begotten, first-born son, the one for whom the promise had been made, up to one of the mountains as a sacrifice, did not delay

to heed the command, did not hesitate in the trial, did not let his hand grow too numb — I marvel at his greatness of soul, or rather, his love of God — to raise a knife against his most beloved son ; and yet he was held back from that strange sacrifice after a ram had straightway been caught as a substitute for a rational victim. As for Gregory, he had been brought to the altar and ordained by his father's hands as both a whole-burnt sacrifice and a sacrificer of a new sacrifice by means of his priesthood ; and he was not offered by his father alone, but first offered himself from infancy, not on some mountain visible among the heights of the earth, but on the height of holy detachment. And having surrendered himself to the hands of the first and great High Priest, he was not let go as was Isaac, but was cut in two, dying to the whole life of the flesh and making himself alive only to the life in the Spirit, abandoning the inheritance here below as fleeting and instead switching his citizenship to the imperishable inheritances above, becoming a most splendid and honored first fruit of the sons of the promise.

For who more than Gregory has offered himself on the most intellectual altar as such an intellectual and rich holocaust to God the primal Mind? Who has offered such a rational and blameless victim to the Word, the Reason, who was sacrificed for all? Who has provided God the Spirit with his own body and spirit as such a living, holy, and well-pleasing sacrifice? Who has first so sanctified his own flesh and soul and then been appointed as a priest for the sanctification of others? Who, after first being deemed worthy of the heavenly adoption, has been selected by the Father of spirits to adopt others as sons?

12. *Gregory's Work as Bishop at Nazianzus: Comparison of Gregory with Jacob*

Was there any kind of pastoral knowledge of which he did not energetically avail himself? Was there any type of virtue which he did not energetically practice? Was there any form of theological discourse which his words did not clearly reveal, with the result that in Gregory's case his words were admired more than his deeds and his deeds were more greatly admired than his words? Who was so splendid and august, so clear-sighted and elegant, so true and clear in his eloquence that you could believe you were seeing rather than hearing all that he spoke or taught about God? Put another way, who was so divinely inspired and perfected by the salt of grace as to dry up all the stench of evil and of foul-smelling heresy, while transforming all that was unbridled and slack in men's characters into a firm steadfastness of judgment and a stability of healthy reasonings? Who more than he, the Chief Shepherd excepted, was a good shepherd, driving his sheep to good pasturage by the shepherd's pipe of his discourse and driving them home again to good steadings? Who was so skilled and capable in knowing how to fatten and multiply

his flock and to keep them safe and far away from the brutality of wolves?

The renowned Jacob, the son of Isaac, greeted his father with the sweetest of foods and so won precedence and the first blessing. Then, escaping the murderous envy of Esau, he experienced favorable dreams about the ladder reaching to heaven ; and, after a propitious journey, he made a place for himself at his mother's ancestral hearth. Here he suffered tribulations in order to win the daughters of Laban ; he suffered tribulations over the management and ownership of the flocks. But by putting three branches in the troughs in the channels and making the animals look at their color and mate in front of them, he caused the spotted to be more numerous than the unspotted. In this way he did Laban one better and gained wealth for himself by his guile. Thereupon, together with his wives and children he made his escape from Laban and conversed with the hosts of God. He wrestled with God in a vision, and for this reason he has laid claim to the name « Israel ». Thus he escaped all troubles and gladly returned to his father's hearth.

What about Gregory? Did he not greet the Divinity with the best teachings of theology, and, after winning more favor in the Divinity's eyes than the elder brother Arius, who was rejected by it, did he not enjoy the blessings of his father and of God? Did he not, in fleeing the murderous Arius, emigrate to his maternal home, the apostolic Church? Did he not earlier encounter a ladder rising from earth to heaven and erected by his virtues? And was it not by means of this ladder that he was initiated into the mysteries of the contemplation of God, who leans upon it, and of the angels, who go up and down upon it? Gregory also suffered tribulations, but not on behalf of the fading beauty of women, nor for loveliness that blooms for a time and quite easily withers, which pleases but briefly and departs even more quickly ; nor did he suffer at the side of Laban, but at the side of his descendant Moses. Gregory suffered tribulations so as to achieve the most perfect knowledge of the latter's two daughters, I mean the Old and New Testaments. And indeed he did win these two, first the older, then the younger.

For, perhaps, it was necessary to deal with the letter of the law before coming to grips with its spirit. It was necessary first to approach sincerely the obvious sense of the Old Testament (a sense not very attractive to look upon) and thereby to know clearly and love and embrace with a willing heart the Word. Indeed the Word has been concealed deep within the Old Testament and manifested in the gospel of grace, that is, the beautiful and most seemly gospel, the contemplation of the Word of God's incarnation.

With these two covenants as his lawful wives Gregory multiplied offspring for the Father. His birth throes were spiritual, whereby he gave birth in the Spirit to children who were heirs of the promises of God. Nor was Gregory concerned solely about giving birth to the noble and spiritual as children ; he was also bent on acquiring the material-

istic and lowly as slaves. For by these means, like Jacob, he procured the spiritual and all-pure wealth for himself. Now Gregory had been entrusted with small flocks of not too many members and had increased them beyond count by his knowledge and skill and love of work. But realizing that not all of these were being given to him as his reward to bring back to his Father's home (for not the called, but the chosen, not the unsigned, but the signed are gathered before God and sealed with the seal of His treasures), what did Gregory devise? Or rather, to what plan was he drawn by the one who daily, not in a dream, but in reality, points out what is of profit? Instead of those branches Gregory, by his words, set three Persons of one Godhead before the churches. For clearly the troughs prefigured these churches. And, exhorting them to use their spiritual vision and to become pregnant with orthodoxy, he made them give birth to the Word of highest contemplation, the Word of salvation as their own and thereby be escorted to the folds above under the care of that good and providential Shepherd.

When Gregory had taken the manifold wealth that he had reaped from the earth and had gained for himself by skill and virtue and when he had escaped from the jealous one, being till then received as a friend, or rather escorted, by the host of angelic powers, which he saw with the eyes of faith and not of the body, having attached himself spiritually to the God-man in the Spirit and actually beholding God in contemplation (he had, in fact, not merely been called, but had been born through Him as well), he thereafter proceeded without danger to the tents of his Father above.

13. *Gregory Leaves Nazianzus for Constantinople, Where Various Heresies Are Rampant*

Gregory's wisdom and judgment is proved by the events in Nazianzus that we have just described. He made this spirit of courage against the heretics a propitious prelude and so stripped naked for struggles that would be more thorough and more difficult to meet. The toughest athletes do not wrestle with the stronger wrestling partners immediately after their first trial; rather, by working out with inferior partners and training unceasingly for the more important matches, they prepare themselves for the most powerful adversaries. In the same way, Gregory, too, first grappled with the unorthodox in his own country and by his spiritual wrestlings and victories against them had a share in the tension and multi-faceted experience of the struggle. Later, when he had acquitted himself of the eulogy and reverence due to his blessedly deceased parents and had made his father's flock secure, as in a safe fold, in the teachings of his theology, leaving them in the hands of the Chief Shepherd, he rubbed himself down with dust to struggle on the Word's behalf against more troublesome dangers. And as one who has been shown trustworthy in a few

matters is made ready for the care of many, Gregory left Nazianzus and straightway steered his course towards the queen of cities. At that time the darkness of the heretics had gathered thick and dreadful about the city as they both clashed against each other and violently took their battle stations against the truth as well. Actually, it is natural for evil to be a bitter opponent not only of virtue but also of itself. A mighty storm cloud was hanging over the orthodox and a kind of infinite powerlessness had poured itself upon them from all directions, since they had no champion and defender of the Word.

The situation was comparable to a most violent clash of the winds on a wide, open sea. At first the winds still shake and whirl for a time with gentler breezes, causing the waves to rise quietly, not yet making them burst asunder. Suddenly, however, like a hurricane they clash together from every direction and cause the sea to swell up and break apart with their force that cannot be withstood ; the waves are swept up and down and the boats that are caught are tossed up and down along with the waves and submerged by them. A storm such as this had seized Constantinople in those days. The spirits of evil were stirring up hostile tongues and opinions against each other and all were bold in their attempt to shatter and destroy each other in fierce argumentation and evilly cunning strife. And if perhaps there was some part left still clinging to the orthodox faith, they would be eager to crush this group too and escort them to the abyss of destruction.

Some accepted Sabellius the Libyan's doctrine of « confusion », or « amalgamation », and unreasonably overemphasizing cohesiveness and minimizing distinctiveness, honored Father and Son and Holy Spirit only as names, while dishonoring what was signified by those names. And in judging these to be mere titles without substance, they actually fashioned a faith for themselves that was insubstantial and empty, thus falling into the unitarianism and unorthodoxy of the Jews. Others accepted the madness of Arius, and though they admitted a view diametrically opposed to those we have just mentioned, nevertheless admitted unorthodoxy to the same degree. For where the Sabellians overemphasized cohesiveness, the Arians overemphasized distinctiveness. Indeed, just as the former, in supposing one nature and one person in the Godhead, were deprived of the truth, so the latter, who like pagans and atheists introduced a distinction of nature in addition to the trinity of Persons, deprived those Persons that proceed from the Father of the Father and deprived those Persons of Themselves by claiming for Them different degrees, which were thoroughly unfitting for the Godhead, and by subordinating the Son to the Father and reducing the glory of the Son and of the Spirit. Put another way, they alienated themselves from the single and only Godhead and so were deservingly roused against each other by outlandish and strange beliefs.

For it was natural for those who had slipped from the mean and had shunned the royal course, in which every virtue is contained and

contemplated including the pure and uncontaminated faith, to fall into excess through clinging to their extremes of either type and finally to enter upon contradiction and hatred. This indeed can be said to have happened to the Sabellians with respect to the theory of the Trinity and to the Arians, in turn, with respect to the Incarnation of the Word of God. The former descended to a belief in two sons based on the duality of the natures in Christ, the latter fused Him into one nature relying on the unity of His person. For in the first as well as in the latter instance, those who want to stay within the bounds of orthodoxy must both distinguish and unite the Divinity simultaneously in the matter of number on the one hand and nature on the other. Now excess is hostile to incompleteness just as incompleteness is hostile to excess. Both are immoderations, and, being infected with a single vice, they war against moderation, a virtue which exists by reason of the right estimation of the mean. Thus the perverted doctrine is wont to be hostile not only to orthodoxy but to heresy as well. As a consequence those caught in such eccentricities were clashing against each other and against the truth.

There were others who joined in bearing witness to the Son's unity of nature with the Father, though they denied the Spirit co-divinity with the Father and the Son and dared to blaspheme the Spirit, some calling it free and some even a slave. There was another brand of heresy. For what shall I call the folly of Apollinarius the Syrian, who believed that the Word had taken on flesh, but foolishly taught that this flesh was soulless and mindless?

14. *Arrival and Reception at Constantinople*

When Constantinople was faced with the storm of these doctrines and others, very numerous and very evil as they were, Gregory was set over her by God as a most brave helmsman. And just as the lord Jesus before him had appeared to those of His disciples that were being tested out at sea in a boat at night and immediately upon His arrival had soothed the mass of the waves, rebuking the winds and changing the squall into a tranquil stillness by the power of His word, so, too, Gregory, who was really and truly a disciple of Jesus and an imitator of Him to the best of his abilities, was on hand together with Jesus to help those billeted by the waves of spiritual strife and « he gave commands to the squall, and it became a breeze, and its waves grew silent ».

And how did he do? Here, I think, we have the most fascinating part of the story! When Gregory entered Byzantium, he did not bring a swarm of bodyguards, but was guarded round about by his virtues. He did not carry gold or silver or bronze in his girdle, but girded about him faith, hope, and charity as an ornament beyond this world. He did not bring expensive clothing, a multitude of pack animals, or anything else, great or small, which the ostentatious and

those concerned about the flesh are accustomed to take along with them ; but he brought the wisdom and gentleness of Jesus and the apostle's simplicity and an ascetic readiness to preach the gospel. After entering the city in this way with the kind of preparation which is necessary for one entrusted with a mission of apostolic service, Gregory was first received as a guest by some of his earthly and spiritual relatives. He was welcomed at the small shrine of Anastasia the Great. This shrine alone at the time, perhaps because of its poverty, had been overlooked by the heretics and was consecrated and set apart for the small plenitude of those who had chosen to remain orthodox. By Anastasia I mean our renowned Anastasia, virgin in body and soul, Anastasia, who in the past set up a great trophy against the devil by her superhuman martyrdom, who raised up a greater one against all the varieties of heresies through the work of the Theologian, and who overcame all the lovers of quarrels and contentions and granted a most splendid victory to the orthodox.

15. *Gregory Aids the Orthodox*

On the visible level, the archbishop was established by his own means in the visible church of Anastasia. In those days it was small and rather unsightly, but it was elevated to beauty and magnificence through him who has now inherited the name « theologian ». On the spiritual level, however, Gregory was established entirely in the Resurrection itself, which is Christ, through the intercession of Anastasia, and in Him he made firm those of his flock that were being perverted, raised up those being broken, confirmed those being confused. And taking hold of those hardly breathing under the attacks of the persecutors, he filled them with living energy and power. For with his upright words, as with the purest food, he was filling hungry souls with good things, and with the most pure bread of a theology wholly without blemish he was nourishing and winning over hearts which had been wasting away with a long-lasting hunger.

Joseph, that envied man, was sold to the Egyptians out of jealousy, and he was not ensnared by the tricks of his licentious mistress, but for the sake of chastity was thrown into prison. By reason of his clever interpretation of dreams, however, Joseph was named a ruler of all Egypt and became a distributor of grain and provisions not only for Egypt but for lands outside of Egypt as well. As for Gregory, he was not betrayed by fraternal envy, but yielded to the counsels of Basil the Great and his fellow-believers ; or rather, he was led by mightier dispensations. He was not sold by a base mistress, but was openly plotted against by peevish heretics. After he had fallen into their varied traps, which were like prisons, and had escaped the nets of the hunters, which he smashed with words of more powerful wisdom, he was revealed to be a benefactor not of one city or land but, by means of one city, of every city under the sun. While Joseph was

revealed as a lavish steward of perishable food, Gregory was revealed as a lavish steward of the food that lasts unto eternal life. And while the former was a generous host of a material and temporary banquet (and that, by remedying the famine for a price), the latter was a generous host of the banquet that is spiritual and that sustains souls and that, moreover, lasts for eternity. A free and bounteous banquet was set before those hungry for spiritual goods. Therefore, as the mind is more noble than sensation, so the distribution of food for the mind will be judged by those, at least, who have any sense as more important than the distribution of food for the body.

16. *Gregory Opposes the Heterodox*

Such was the divine Gregory's behavior towards those who were his comrades in the faith, a behavior he continued to manifest throughout his life. But as to his attitude toward his adversaries, the labors and dangers which he fell into for the sake of the truth, the long struggles he entered upon on account of the Trinity, how might I present these matters in my speech in a manner that is worthy? How might I say anything fitting and not fall short of the truth? How might I not make my speech tedious while trying to discuss everything about him? Or, if I should be willing to pass over the multitude of details, how might I not be judged to be doing my audience an exceeding injustice, when I need only his voice and thought to present the largest number of details succinctly? For just as the struggle carried out so nobly and courageously was his, so, too, was the glorious presentation of those struggles by means of the glory of his rhetoric.

Now because by Gregory's day pagan hair-splitting and error and their abominable rites and all impiety had been brought to an end through the work of divine apostles and the prize-winning heroism of martyrs, and because by that time the darkness of idolatry had been lifted and the true light of faith had shone on every righteous soul, the worst demons were no longer able to make war upon the orthodox by means of external foes, and so they set Christians themselves against each other (or rather they dragged off the more unsound and light-headed among us and by means of corrupt words caused them to clash against the orthodox) and ranged them opposite each other in bitter and hard-fought strife. The demons employed sophistry and insolence. Through the former they won over the less intelligent by specious argumentation; through the latter they attacked the weaker, terrified them with fear of their effrontery, and tried to make them submit to their heresies.

What then of that man, mighty in divine matters, the immoveable and intractable column of orthodox theology? Was he seen yielding to the wickedness of the most wicked? Or did he wholly surrender to their attacks? Or did he compromise one small bit of orthodoxy? Or did he defend it with half measures? By no means. But by op-

posing his wisdom to their rashness and his courage to their sophistry, or rather by meeting their rashness with courage and their sophistry with understanding and by generally arraying his virtue against all their vice, he set them to flight and prevailed against them so completely that, as the proverb has it, the tracks of a sea-going ship or of a snake on a rock or of flying eagles could sooner be seen than could a trace of their heresy survive.

Indeed, Gregory had one task, one endeavor, to fight against falsehood on behalf of the truth and to estrange himself from the strange doctrine of the lawless Anomoeans while clinging wholeheartedly to a belief in consubstantiability. As for those who had shaken off this belief from their hearts, their one task, one endeavor was to hold on to the error of the Anomoeans. And so, while the herald of truth benevolently desired to have all men as fellow-sharers in the Good, the advocates of falsehood treated him as their worst enemy and tried to destroy him and put out the orthodox faith preached by him. For a soul taken by strange ideas and activities and unwilling to depart from its preconceptions suspects those who try to correct it of being hostile ; and since it looks upon the reproof as a whiplash, it rekindles its bitter and murderous attitude against the reprover.

The Theologian continued to speak at length about divine matters ; his words not only concerned the true and salvific belief in the Trinity but also dealt with the love of Christ through observing the Commandments, by which means salvation and justice are believed to be acquired in addition. Then, too, mortification of the flesh was zealously preached, a continuous prayer, by means of which total purity of thought exists, out of which the passage of the mind to the Lord arises, a participation in divine illuminations, a sharing in heavenly irradiations, an end to desires, a fulfillment of greater desires. In this way the true man of God was being perfected and was being transformed day by day by the renewal of his mind in Christ, and by virtue not only of the holiness and magnificence of his life but also the splendor of his eloquence he was shown to be a savior to those worthy of salvation. Meanwhile, the whole array of heretics had allied itself with the Arians in trying to murder the saint. For evil often knows how to fight alongside evil and to conspire in the war against virtue, as has been said, even though at other times it happens to war against itself. Indeed it was in no half-hearted fashion that these heretics cultivated enmities, strifes, jealousies, bursts of anger, and all the other things which the great Paul formerly enumerated as works of the flesh ; moreover, they cultivated the first cause of evils, envy, as well as the last of all evils, murder.

At first these people tried argument and deceptive dialectic, quarreling and scheming to shake the tower of truth. But they were beaten back from the wisdom within him and from his boldness of speech as from an enclosing wall, seeing that they went against the faith of the great saint as against a firm and resistant rock. They went against him out of stubbornness and they lost their way out of

weakness; they attacked out of shamelessness and were worsted out of impotency. Or rather, as in the summer dust is ground and winnowed from a threshing floor by the wind and hurricane, so they were ground and winnowed by the breath of his eloquence. And when they supposed that it was most unreasonable to continue to struggle with this man by means of words (he had already clearly won the victory for himself with respect to every accomplishment of speech), in the end they tried to attack him with stones.

When Stephen had spoken one sentence to the murderous people of the Jews, namely, that the heavens had been open to him and he had seen the Son of Man at the right hand of the Father, they could not bear to hear of the Generated receiving equal honor with the Generator, and blocking their ears they stood up and straightway stoned to death the teacher of sacred theology. And when Jesus himself, before Stephen's martyrdom, shouted in the midst of the assembly, « I and the Father are one, » they stood up and were trying to stone Him, even though He made their casts miss their mark. In the same way, when Gregory was preaching his supernatural theology that God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit were one godhead made up of three consubstantial persons, united with distinctions and divided without losing its unity, the swarm of heresiarchs were filled with measureless fury, since their teachings were utterly destroyed, and they rose up and were stoning the most mighty interpreter of theology for maintaining on his part equal honor for the Trinity.

17. *Gregory Is Accused before the City Prefect*

But the Divinity, which was the object of their wicked attacks and dissections, treated Gregory with honor (he was after all fighting nobly on its behalf), and the Spirit stood by to aid him, as one who was inspired on its behalf. The Divinity saved him from insulting treatment at the hands of the murderers and, having kept him untouched by the showers of stones, prepared him for greater struggles and more perfect crowns. And certainly, when these same heretics had been refuted and put to shame in this manner, they turned to another idea, more effective, so they thought, and harder to contest. They brought all manner of public charges against him and stirred up the prefect of the city, who was all the more ready to believe them because he shared their religious views. After bringing in accusers and winning over the people, they arrested Gregory by surprise and brought him before the prefect's tribunal. Oh the stupidity, the unrestrained treachery of the rebels! The most renowned preacher of peace and the most gentle peacemaker was standing trial for sedition and for causing political turmoil, the most discriminating discerner of good order was standing trial for disorder! He who, as the Apostle writes, had a firm grasp of the unchanging message of the tradition was falsely being charged by heretics with teaching false doctrine!

The noble Gregory took his stand before the prefect as if he were a friend and acquaintance rather than a powerful authority and judge.

How might I expound precisely the disdainful, hubristic, and pretentious tone of the prefect's words or the composed and quiet tone of Gregory and the timely and well-aimed reply he made to the prefect?

« Why », he said, « did you decide to cause trouble in a city so magnificent and royal? After all, you are a stranger and a foreigner here ».

Gregory answered : « What is the crime and what is the charge of creating disorder that is being spread abroad against me by slanderers? Indeed, I am conscious of no such crime ».

« They say », said the prefect, « that you are courting the faithless people with vain and profane words, and you seem to me to be confusing the minds of the uneducated and ignorant, winning them over to yourself and making them mad and ready for insurrection, since their minds are naturally and easily inflamed over these matters ».

« I am as unlikely », replied Gregory, « to be a cause of disorder and political turbulence to any one as are men who have died long ago to be expelled from your state. For long ago (please do not blame me for my foolishness) I shook off all the pomp of wordly life and passing fame and all the desires of the flesh, and I joined the ranks of Christ alone and chose to be led by the law of His Spirit. I am striving to keep myself innocent of all sedition and strife. Instead, I cling to and embrace only most fair peace ; nor do I do so alone, but along with Paul I persuade all men to reach out for peace with all their strength. For no one could see the Lord without it ».

« What is the purpose », he inquired, « of your teaching false doctrine? Shouldn't we be satisfied with a faith with which the mighty emperor also agrees and to which every country and city has assented? Will you innovate all by yourself and all by yourself bring the whole world to your private opinion? »

« Nothing new », said Gregory, « or foreign to the apostolic faith have I ever thought myself, nor do I introduce such views to others. On the contrary, 'what we have heard and known', as the Scriptures say, 'and what our fathers have taught us', in these things we have our wisdom, these do we speak. We keep to what we have been taught and know to be true, knowing who our teacher is, not measuring the unreachable by human concepts nor calculating the unseen and incomprehensible nature by dialectics. For we do not dare, as some do, to speak out boldly contrary to what has been divinely revealed to us by the Sacred Scriptures. Accordingly, everyone who belongs to God, hearing our voice and recognizing the truth spoken through us, does not merely approach and join with us, but, as a matter of fact, through us he joins with the Truth itself ».

« What then do you think of us? » asked the prefect. « Isn't it that we seem to be without God and the Truth because we do not quite agree on your 'homoousion' doctrine? For, on account of what we

read in the Scriptures, we are unable to give a firm assent to it. How do you explain your failure to harmonize your views with the emperor's teachings, your self-vaunting and excessive pride in your own opinion, your disagreement with such a vast number of bishops? Aren't you afraid that as a result of your intrigue you might inadvertently drag up some danger for yourself? »

The Theologian answered gently and kindly : « What was necessary, Lord Prefect, was not to offend the glory of the Only Begotten, and not to be aroused against the equality of honor due to the divine Spirit and thereby show contempt for its majesty, and not to overlook such a vast mass of evidence attesting to the equality of honor of Son and Holy Spirit with the Father and so be polluted by inferior beliefs. For by so honoring a single lordship and divinity with a single profession of faith and with unanimity of judgment, crying aloud the three acclamations of 'holy' as do the seraphim, we might all be called one body and one spirit. And then we will not have some of us belonging to this party and others to that, but all will be named and be Christ's, running together towards one and the same hope of election.

« But since some, out of maliciousness rather than ignorance, take offence at witnesses and scriptural passages that are so incontrovertible (for example, those witnesses testifying to the Son, that, being the Word of God, He was in the beginning with the Father and was God, and that, being only-begotten and in the bosom of the Father, He says, 'I am in the Father and the Father in Me' and 'I and the Father are one', and that He was preached by Saint Paul as the radiance of the Father's glory and the impress of His substance, that is, His unchangeable image ; or those other witnesses by means of which the identity of nature is established ; also those witnesses testifying to the Spirit, that it is lord, that it sends forth, that it makes temples for itself and deifies and activates as it wishes, and distributes graces and by these means and by many others its joint rule with the Father is clearly manifested) — since, then, in showing no respect to such numerous witnesses concerning the Spirit, they do not fear to number the uncreated and creative cause of all things among its creatures and they become a base creature, shamelessly reducing to slavery the nature that is set above all dominion and not even being willing to reflect upon their own experience (they do not see that if a concept, which is internal and generated by the mind in a non-temporal, non-spatial manner and which occurs inseparably from its generator and comes to be perceived through the expression of the word, is of the same nature as its generator, the mind, then, by analogy, those beings which, like some co-eternal shoots sprouting forth, spring from the Father of Lights would reasonably be believed to be of the same nature as their generator), wherefore indeed we have good reason not to join in fellowship with those teaching contrary to the purpose of the truth. We do not agree with their doctrines and we do not accept their heresies, lest we incur the same charge of blasphemy as they have,

even if they are now thought to rule the whole world, even if they appear to be bishops in the eyes of the majority, even if they should be mounted on the highest thrones. For in our eyes, noble sir, kings are not honored for their purple but for their virtue, and they are not deserving of reverence and awe because of their gold and silver and most precious stones or because of their gold-plates chariots or large armies, but because of the purity of their faith and their sincere attitude toward the Godhead. As for bishops, in our view they are not so much those decked out in priestly vestments, but those who, besides, are clothed with virtue as their high priest's robe, and who put about their breasts the orthodox faith as a pectoral of judgement with its Thummim of truth and its Urim of doctrine.

« If, being so disposed regarding these matters, I should beg exemption from dangerous attacks and from exiles for the sake of the Trinity and from afflictions and death, which are the sources of immortal life, then I would consider myself truly deserving of an unlimited number of deaths and dangers ».

Now it is said that the prefect, when he had spoken and heard Gregory's reply, marveled at the man's wisdom so wondrously joined, as it was, with virtue. The story goes that the people were so overcome by his orthodoxy and theological discourse that they sent up a loud shout and not only called him blessed for his theology but also there, for the first time, gave him the name « theologian ». Thus he took the spectators by storm and won over the court, that is, the audience, to himself. And while the people sent Gregory home with reverence, they silently found fault with his accusers for having nothing of importance with which to convict him. From then on, as the Scriptures say, Gregory raised a louder voice in the public squares. For though before the contest has begun every soul is wont actually to shun the struggle, once he has engaged victoriously in the wrestling he would speak out boldly.

18. *Comparison of Gregory with Job*

That famous and blessed man from Ur, Job, because of his virtue became one day an object of envy to the devil and upon demand was given over to him. As a result, Job was first stripped of his children and all his wealth. Thereafter his body was inflicted with very severe sores. He had to put up with decay of worms, bitter pains, his wife's foolishness, his friends' poor advice, but he did not weaken nor attribute any folly to God, and so at the conclusion of his trials he was publicly and gloriously acclaimed. He received double in return for what envy had destroyed, while, most beautiful of all, he was proclaimed just by the one who spoke to him through the whirlwind and clouds. Gregory, in contrast, was not deprived of his property through the jealousy of the evil one ; rather he gave it all away to the poor, generously and in accord with the law of Christ. Gregory's

experience was not that of the physical destruction of merely ten children taken all at once; he endured the spiritual annihilation of many thousands by reason of their hearts' evil desires. It was in this way that he was struck at the devil's request. The blow did not afflict only his body, but, what is more, he was struck in the very core of his heart. As a matter of fact, the tempter used the teeth of the lawless as weapons and missiles and their tongues as sharp knives to strike him continually with the garrulousness of the heretics that was like needles and to smite his soul with blasphemies. The tempter tried by means of those people who were professing friendship and feigning belief (one of whom was Maximus the Cynic, the cynicism and shamelessness and treacherousness of whose character I will pass over as clear to all), by means of every conceivable trick applied skillfully and unskillfully to make the truth into a lie and so refute it and to make it his own by apposite activity. But Gregory (for he was not unaware of the devil's designs), opposing all with his marvelous endurance and patience, brushed aside like an onrush of foam the huge waves of outrages; he brushed aside all the malice and perversity of those who were slaves to envy. In the end he had received back the possessions that he had laid aside, not two-fold but many-fold: like the famous good servant he had obtained authority over ten cities, or rather, like the trusted and prudent steward he had, to put it mildly, been established over all his Lord's belongings. That Gregory was proclaimed just was the least part; he was just. He was also the « theologian » and was so proclaimed with laurels.

19. *Gregory's Light, the Trinity, Illuminates the Whole World*

From then on the Trinity, like a thrice-brilliant lamp supernaturally lit within him, no longer tolerated being hidden under the tub of silence, no longer thought it necessary to accommodate itself to the opinion of the unsound. But just as the brilliant sun you behold, only now leaving the underworld behind and ascending with its light-shooting rays toward the horizon above the earth, for a time shines gently on the mountain ridges and disperses the thickest darkness back to the valley of the earth, and then, advancing little by little, finally wipes the darkness away and fills the whole earth with the world-embracing beauty of its light (the only exceptions are the night-feeding creatures, which are unable to tolerate the sun's rays, since their eyes are afflicted rather than illuminated by the excess of light or else, because of their inability to receive the light, do not unclose to partake of its brilliance — indeed, these creatures crawl under hollows and holes in rocks), just so Gregory, or rather the Trinity, which hovered over him as a body exposed to its sun's rays, first shed its light upon those highest in intelligence, then filled every understanding worthy of light with the knowledge worthy of desire; but all those hearts that were at the level of the beasts and all those

perceptions that were fostered on unreason the Trinity buried in the depths of the earth since they could not endure the intelligible radiation of the divine ray and rejected the divine light, because a malicious nature and evil judgment cannot receive the excess of goodness.

Well, did the light from the three suns that was in Gregory rise for the benefit of the city and those within it, while the countryside and the regions beyond were deprived of his radiant illumination? Or did the light of his theology manifest itself to the neighboring lands, while the grace of his words did not reach those lands lying farther off and embracing the ends of the earth? Or did it come even to the latter places, yet dimly? Or did it come to them shining brightly, but not permanently? Not at all. Rather, he was purifying, illuminating, perfecting all things at once. Those who had previously been seized by ignorance he was purifying of the pollution of heresies, he was illuminating by his divine preaching, which was supernatural and traversed heaven, he was perfecting and associating with the perfecting rays of the divine oneness of nature.

20. *Comparison of Gregory with Moses and with Aaron*

Now I know this speech is becoming excessively long. Hence I am torn and divided between two feelings. On the one hand, the thrust of my speech is being hampered by a fear of seeming a tiresome and tasteless person to the multitude. But why do I feel this way? For, on the other hand, there is a longing that does not cease driving me and exercizing its tyrannical power over me. It has seized all of me from head to toe and has truly made me its slave, reminding me of the magnificence of the Theologian's words and the divinity of his character, made all the more splendid by the most detailed comparisons, and it causes me to dwell mentally upon them and to speak at length.

Very well, then, let us contemplate the great vault of the bishop's accomplishments, by closely comparing him, in so far as we are able, with Moses. I am referring to Moses, that renowned offshoot of the holy root of Abraham, who, as an infant, was exposed in a river for fear of the Pharaoh and so struck the Pharaoh's daughter with his comeliness that she publicly adopted him as her son. Wherefore he was educated in all the knowledge of the Egyptians; yet this education did not cause him to cast aside his affection for his kinsmen. And so, after it was discovered that he was not very kindly disposed towards the people who had raised him, Moses made his escape and crossed over to the mountain of Madian. There he lawfully married a woman and was known as a shepherd of flocks. He was dedicated to the contemplation of beings and, insofar as it is possible for a man to do so, he beheld God in the bush.

By powerful signs Moses was sent back to Egypt and made war against the hard-heartedness of the Egyptian soul. He made them

suffer manifold sufferings, using the greatest force to gain possession of his own people. He freed these from their bondage in Egypt and, leading them by a pillar of fire and cloud, guided them toward the Promised Land. Then the Red Sea was divided and spread a dry path beneath them, but pouring back upon itself it became a source of destruction and a tomb for their pursuers. Thereafter a rock was broken and gushed up rivers for them ; a piece of wood cured the waters' bitterness ; the firmament rained down birds like dust ; the heavens rained bread like rain. And the stretching out of hands routed tens of thousands, while the just sentence of God extinguished a grumbling people.

But here is the greatest and most marvelous thing of all. Moses went up by himself to a high mountain, and, after purifying his body by a forty-day fast and cleansing his soul, he was found worthy of the awful attention of God and of a more mighty theophany in the form of fire and voices and trumpets as signs. When he had received laws written on stone tablets and been instructed there in the many varieties of sacrifices, he even beheld there, as in a mirror and in a shadowy way, an outline of the true tabernacle. There a lamp and table, altars, an ark, and all the other symbols which are used as likenesses of heavenly things were contemplated as types by the man who saw God. Having entrusted these to his countrymen and having assigned the priesthood to Aaron, his brother of the flesh and of the spirit, having placed the army and the rule of the people into the hands of his comrade Joshua, having completed through God's providence all his works of service, Moses laid down his mortal life.

Such were Moses' deeds and such, in short, was the character of his way of life. But what of Gregory? Was he not born a most holy offspring of his holy parents? Was he not also exposed in the world as in a river and then rescued by the seal of the Spirit as by a basket? And was he not observed to be handsome and naturally suited for secular wisdom, and was he not adopted as its child and educated and trained in it from an early age? And did he not most happily flee the baseness and superstition of this wisdom, while using the more exalted path of contemplation, a path more suited to piety, to cross over to the wisdom that is beyond this world? Not migrating to a mountain of Madian as Moses had, but ascending to the height of the holy state of freedom from passions, and not, like Moses, having wed himself to a mortal wife, but having fallen in love with the perfect wisdom, and having put on the crown of her graces and having been revealed as truly a most renowned shepherd, not of non-rational but of rational animals, Gregory, if any man, saw the Invisible One. And, looking with unveiled face upon the glory of the Lord as in a mirror, he was filled with contemplation and power and was sent off to this pleasure-loving Egypt of ours. He was sent off to make a people special to the Lord and in freeing them from the dark ignorance of the heretics to bring them over to the luminous inheritance of the truth that belongs to those who live by faith.

Gregory was not handed a staff by God. Rather, he himself was a staff of power sent from God, not a staff that was transformed into a slithering serpent, but one that turned into a Christ-like shape and mind, not a staff that changed potable water into undrinkable blood, but one that by potable words washed away the bitter words of the heretics, not a staff that shattered its enemies by the onset of many gluttonous reptiles, but one that chastized the hardened and arrogant heart with energetic and living words. And to some he was a stripe or blow inflamed not by reason of his own nature but by reason of the malignancy of the heretics, a malignancy harder to cure than any corruption, inasmuch as they were being plagued and tortured by envy. To others, however, he was a welcome consolation, a support, a grace. Some he set upon like hail and fire and utterly destroyed the minds of the insolent by the thick shower of his discourse and the fire of his divinely-inspired ideas, while upon others he came down gently like dew from heaven and caused them to flourish in wisdom. For some Gregory was deemed a darkness that could be felt, for others he shone as a holy and spiritual light from the supremely holy light, or rather, he became and was a true light for all. He was a source of illumination to some, that is, to all who had suitably adjusted their spiritual vision to receive the illumination arising through him. To others, in turn, he was a source of darkness, that is, to all who because of the weakness of their own judgment were unable to confront the rays of the truth, shunning the light as an enemy and preferring the darkness as most pleasing to themselves. And by his refutations he was destroying the first-born reasonings and deeds of some, while preserving the souls of others undefiled by means of Christ's blood.

The same Gregory was a pillar of fire and cloud, melting through the darkness of sin, on the one hand, and, on the other, easing the toil of virtue. He relieved the spiritual Israel with the comfort of the Paraclete as with dew from a cloud and he escorted her to the dwellings that are above. And with his hand lifted high he caused that Israel to cross over without harm the sea of life that he had severed ; as for those who were preparing to make their mad and irrational attack against him from the rear, he left them behind choking in the sea. He himself led the most pure remnant of the saved with their splendid baggage of virtues to the resting places of salvation.

Gregory was also a rock. For indeed he truly possessed, not as an external trapping but rather as something dwelling within him, the spiritual rock which is Christ, who gushes forth fountains of life. He was also revealed to be a piece of wood in turning the strange and bitter teaching of heresies into the sweetness of orthodoxy. Nor was it by stretching forth his hands all day long, hands which weighed heavily and were held up by others, but by continuously raising his mind to the Lord that he gave support to the true Israel and set to flight the true Amalek.

He nourished them, not with bread rained down from heaven at dawn and melting away at sunrise nor with the flesh of numberless birds pouring down like rain, but with an abundance of powerful words, both the more spiritual and divine kind, which were provided from above and in accordance with the wisdom that is from above, and the more earthly and material kind, which he heaped up in accordance with an earthly and secular prudence. With such nourishment, then, Gregory was both feeding and refreshing the upright and faithful; as for those murmuring and speaking against God, these he handed over to a most pitiable fate.

Nor did he go up for a short time to some visible mountain, crested with earth, and there hold converse with God and, in turn, busy himself in laying down laws for the people. Having mounted instead to the highest summit of theology he was deemed worthy of a vision of God that was beyond the sensible and this, not by reason of a forty-day fast but by reason of an everlasting one. There were no loud voices and trumpets beating the air with violence and ringing loudly in the ear, but quietly and gently he held converse with and dwelt with the gentle and silent Spirit of God and quietly shared in the lofty utterances of exalted revelations. Gregory was not engulfed by the darkness that conceals the body but by the incomprehensibility of the knowledge that is beyond knowledge; nor was it gales and storms that blew about him but rather the breezes of the divine Spirit; nor did he view copies of heavenly things and shadows of the truth as in a mirror, but he was initiated into the heavenly things themselves and saw truth itself in its pure form. For by using Moses' visions as symbols and foreshadowings in order to comprehend the true realities and thereby be truly transported to the Lawgiver himself, Gregory actually beheld the glory not only of God's back (namely, those things which give a glimpse of the knowledge of what have come into existence after Him and through Him) but also, if it not be too great a thing to utter, of God's face, I mean the transcendent knowledge of the infinity of the Pre-existing One himself. He beheld the glory of God himself, and it did not appear briefly and quickly vanish, but it abode with him forever. And he was not hidden like Moses in a hole of a rock, but, contemplating the glory of the Father in the only-begotten Word, he received the supernatural illumination of the Son in the Spirit of the Son. Gregory beheld those things which were mystically signified by the tabernacle and the vessels within it; or rather, he made himself a perpetual tabernacle for the Godhead by means of the variety of his virtues and rendered his own soul an ark, an ark which did not hold a golden jar but held instead a Christlike heart containing the bread of heaven within it, an ark which did not hold a staff of walnut wood sprouting a perishable flower but held instead a godlike understanding sprouting the imperishable flower of theology, an ark which did not conceal a stone tablet, easily broken, but a polished and unbreakable mind that was actually written upon by the finger of God.

The same Gregory was also a seven-branched lamp illuminating the Church with the seven gifts of the Spirit. He was also a table, displaying to the truly hungry the most mystical shewbread. He was also an altar, not only of incenses, continually offering sacrifices of prayers as sweet fragrances, but also of holocausts, sacrificing upon himself souls rich in piety.

And when Gregory became a great high priest, his head and beard were not moistened with the oil of anointing, but his mind and soul were consecrated by the Spirit of exultation ; nor was he decked out with varied-colored vestments woven from earthly material, but his soul's garment was arrayed with a variety of virtues. And, after taking up the harmonious voice of apostolic divine wisdom, as Aaron had taken up the bells, he was thereby deemed a priest of holiness and an offerer of a new sacrifice, not through blood but through the Spirit. For it was not in accordance with the shadow of things but in accordance with the truth, not in accordance with the constitution of Aaron but in accordance with the divine Paul that he was ministering the gospel of the Kingdom and in accordance with the great high priest Jesus Christ that he was sacrificing himself on behalf of his people and praying for them. It was not once a year that he was wont to approach the holy of holies, but incessantly drawing near the intellectual and heavenly altar he dispensed salvation therefrom to us. In this way, then, not only was Moses a model for the Theologian but Aaron was as well.

Reflecting upon our comparison, then, I think we can say that by as much as truth surpasses the shadow that adumbrates it, by so much Gregory is more magnificent and perfect than Moses and Aaron. Well then, is it possible that, though he had so imitated the life of these latter as to surpass it to such an extent, he nevertheless fell short in his imitation of the prophets and the just men that succeeded Moses and Aaron ? Or did he merely imitate some of those outstanding in virtue, and not others ? Or did he imitate all of them, but achieve less than some, or the same, or surpass those whose virtue was only slightly inferior to his own ? Not at all. For, if he has overwhelmingly surpassed the one who stood above all prophets and lawgivers, Moses, how much more will he outdistance the rest in an abundance of God-given magnificence ?

21. *Theodosius the Great, an Orthodox Christian, Becomes Emperor*

Now let us again direct our speech to the chronological narration of his life's story. Gregory was busy bringing back those sheep that had wandered and searching after those that had been lost. In accordance with the holy Prophet's words, he was bandaging the wounded, making them lie down in green pastures, nourishing them with the waters of refreshment, and keeping them, as from some fatal and harmful grass, from all injustice both of deed and of belief, while

leading them upon the pathways of justice. He was not legislating a periodic purification of the body but the mortification of the mind that is subject to the flesh; he was not teaching a form of animal sacrifice but the Spirit's giving of life through faith. As for the hearts of the Anomoeans, these he was striking with well-aimed arrows, at the same time setting the elect afire by his teachings, which were like the most radiant of rays and dealt with the sacred mysteries. Amid all this activity on Gregory's part, the tyranny suddenly collapsed and a legitimate sovereignty was proclaimed. The power of the heterodox was swept aside, while the remnant of the orthodox gained freedom of speech. And the pride of the heretics was justly dragged down, while there arose as a horn of salvation for the people of God a king who loved goodness and hated iniquity and was most favorably disposed in two respects: he disfranchised and condemned those who thought to destroy the unity of the Trinity, while he honored and restored those who honored with equal honor the Trinity's nature, which is entitled to equal honor; and he set at naught and dismissed those who had mounted bishops' thrones through tyranny, while he restored to their proper places those who had been unjustly expelled from their churches.

In order that the new emperor might lay down a most auspicious beginning to his reign, he was eager that two policies be carried out. What were they? He wanted to confirm the teachings of the Council of Nicaea by summoning an ecumenical council, thereby quenching the flames of the new heresies and dispelling the quarrels within the Church (this was Theodosius the Great's first thought). He wanted to install Gregory on the patriarchal throne of Constantinople (he was no less enthusiastic about this than about his first plan).

22. *Gregory Made Bishop of Constantinople*

Though Gregory kept his heart free from all love of honor, yet he was affectionately disposed toward his flock and so he gladly accepted the church offered him, while he postponed his enthronement for a time. Afterwards, though by constraint, he nevertheless yielded to a vote of a large number of bishops and especially of the one who presided over the see of Antioch, that is, the great Meletius, who is said to have engaged, before that time, in many glorious struggles on behalf of the Trinity. Yielding to the divine counsels of this bishop and the pressure from the noble emperor and to the urgings of the christian community, or rather, to God's will, Gregory was elevated to the high throne of the episcopacy: the lamp was set high on the lamp stand and the herald advanced to the higher height. Well then, was it not likely that the very Trinity which allows kings to be kings upon the earth and tyrants to have power over the earth and which raises the poor from the dust and lifts the needy from the dunghill

would also set its most renowned servant, the bishop perfected by his very works, upon the episcopal throne?

But let no one suppose that illegally and contrary to the holy decree of the Church Gregory had himself transferred to a third episcopal throne. For this affair was no transfer, but an appointment, and his enthronement as bishop of the royal city was his first and only one. For since, as I stated earlier, he was first appointed to Sasima purely for the sake of his ordination, he was not enthroned there nor, in short, did he carry out any ordination or celebration of sacred rites there because, clearly, this small hamlet was entirely unfit for a bishop's see. As for Nazianzus, his father had managed that see for a long time, but Gregory had not been appointed to that see nor was he ever enthroned as its bishop. All Gregory had done was to assist in the sacred liturgy when there was need, following his father's advice and encouragement; he received jurisdiction over the church only insofar as he was a support and mainstay for his father's weakened old age. This is especially evident from the words he himself wrote to his namesake: « It is manifest to everyone that we were appointed bishop of Sasima but not of Nazianzus, although for a short while, out of reverence for my father and those who besought me, I received the jurisdiction though a stranger to it ». Accordingly, when his father had exchanged his mortal life for the divine, the grace of the Spirit, which had seized upon him during his period of retreat and which afterwards had rendered him most eminent by reason of the divinity of his way of life and speech, set him upon the episcopal throne of Constantinople (and this was what one could behold with the eyes of the flesh). But the eyes of the spirit might discern even more: it appointed Gregory good shepherd and high priest of the whole world.

23. *Description of Gregory's Enthronement As Bishop*

Nor is it fitting to pass over in silence the manner of Gregory's enthronement. For when that divine and salvific ordinance and decree was reported abroad, namely, that the Theologian was to be set upon the episcopal throne (we might equally say that the Trinity, which was the object of his theology, was to be set upon the throne), then you could have seen almost all creation together trembling at the Trinity's exaltation. I believe that on that day all the powers of heaven, spiritually, immaterially, invisibly running ahead, serving as escorts and guards, were joyfully applauding over the holy entrance of the divine bishop, while all the armies of unholy demons (all that wander about the air above and all that hold the region around the earth and busy themselves in causing men to sin) were hastily descending into the holes beneath the earth, unable to bear the lightning leaping forth from the divine Spirit. And the whole assembly of the orthodox, faithfully accompanying the faithful emperor and making

the bishop's entry the occassion for a very great feast, entered the palace along with Gregory amid great splendor and much joy.

There one could have noted applause from all the people, hymns of victory, gratefully addressed to both God and emperor. There one could have seen men and women, old and young, slaves and masters, every age group, every walk of life (hermits and people of the world, priests and laymen) from nearly every race under heaven, like the swelling of waves, rushing together, rushing upon each other, running back and forth, pushing forwards and backwards and being pushed in turn, all rejoicing, all leaping up, all being of good cheer and fighting the good fight. On that day it was not even thought to be lawful for maidens to absent themselves from that holy spectacle; indeed, decked in their finery, they eagerly repaired to the holy courts.

Everyone was faced with a struggle. For some the struggle was to approach the bishop; for others it was to move toward those that were near him; for others it was to behold his entrance though from a distance so that even from there they might share in the good fortune. For a soul which has been spiritually united through faith to the object of its faith, even if it should see an image of that object from a distance, as in a mirror, desires and leaps and strains with all eagerness towards it; and experiencing that vision as a kind of goad to greater love the soul is compelled to unite itself to the desired object even in a physical manner, if this be possible. Long ago when Solomon dedicated the temple in Jerusalem, the Jewish people did not come out in such numbers nor, in the days before Solomon when David brought the ark to rest, was such a festival established at public expense as is said to have occurred when Gregory made his entrance and was enthroned. Such indeed was the kind of enthusiasm that inspired the rally of the orthodox.

On the other hand, the swarm of heretics was not absent from that public occasion. They were present: in their hearts some were cut to the quick with jealousy, though they did not permit their evil to break out into the light of day, others raged like dogs and were eager to fall upon Gregory and slay him in cold blood, but their mad rashness was held in check by an invisible and all-powerful hand. They themselves were devising plots, intrigues, insurrections and the shedding of innocent blood (for they were evil), but the Trinity was shielding its defender and spokesman from all evil (for it loved goodness).

There one could have seen the two opposing sides clashing together. The Anomoeans laid claim to the churches as belonging to themselves (indeed people often ascribe valid ownership by reason of continued possession alone to those exercising rights over property for the longer period of time, even though the property might have been gained most unjustly), but those who supported the homoousion view clung to the very same churches, considering that they had recently inherited them at the hands of the Theologian, a most good leader and benefactor, when an orthodox emperor turned the scales of power in their favor.

There one could have observed that holy song being realized: the horn of justice was being exalted with honor, while the wicked, seeing it and grieving, were gnashing their teeth and wasting away, their hopes vanishing. For falsehood was not about to stand its ground for long nor suffer to the end the marshalling of truth against it. Rather, just as the winter or the frost of winter, when the sun is still lingering far away and retracing its southerly course, rules and embraces and presses upon all of nature, but, when the sun turns back again and traverses the more northerly regions and the summer tropics and sends forth brighter and more steady rays, all nature is warmed and rekindled, while with the springtime glowing more brightly winter is easily dissolved and melted and compressed into subterranean holes, in just the same way, I think, that dark and heavy madness of heresies, which had poured down upon the churches like the thickest winter and which had oppressed the hearts of the orthodox, was diluted and melted away by the rays of Gregory's words shining ever more brightly and strongly, rays which leapt forth from the sun that abode within him, Christ; and these rays transformed the firmament of the Church into a condition of bright daylight and springtime radiance.

Proof of this analogy is the mist of air that condensed prior to that holy entrance. However, after Gregory had entered the church together with all the city and the emperor, when the doxology and lauds were being sung by the whole congregation, when the divine high priest had been set on the bishop's throne, when warm tears had flowed from every face, everyone repenting in his heart and being unable to accept their good fortune without tears, when a shouting, mingled with joy and sorrow and cries of supplication, had broken forth among all the people, then straightway that very thick night dissolved and a very bright light, shining forth suddenly, darkened the hopes of the heretics, while it illuminated the minds as well as the bodies of the orthodox transforming their extreme despondency into extreme joy. Thus even as the Lord knows how to extoll those who extoll Him, so also He knows how to reject those who reject Him.

24. *Comparison of Gregory with Joshua*

When the renowned Joshua had been entrusted with the generalship of Israel in Moses' stead and had led his entire army across the Jordan without getting their feet wet and when he had ranged himself in battle against peoples and kings hard to defeat, he routed all that came against him without shedding the blood of his own troops, as it was fitting for one being amply defended by the right hand of the Most High to prevail. By the mere sound of trumpets the strongest city walls were shaken and fell down; moreover, the cities and the men in them were totally destroyed. An almost invincible attack of kings was hailed upon not only by weapons but by stone projectiles

from heaven, and they were bitten by wasps which flew ahead of Joshua's army. But here is the greatest and most wonderful proof : the sun stood still, the moon halted in its tracks, and heaven itself stood by Israel, fighting with it against the ignorant. After the latter had been destroyed by God's providence, the Israelites inherited their wealth and by Joshua's hand were allotted their land in allotments of distribution.

When, in contrast, Gregory had been entrusted with the holy task of ruling over the true Israel and had without harm crossed over as a kind of river's stream the deep blasphemies of the heretics, since he, too, had the hand from above fighting mightily on his behalf, the lawless cities of the heterodox, that is, their rival sects, were immediately dragged down by the most loud-voiced trumpets of his theology. The powerful champions of the blashpemies were crushed by heavenly conceptions as if by casts of rocks and by hail, and, being wounded by the thick needles of his words as if by wasps, some were destroyed (all those who, attacking boldly, had the temerity to make war on God), others gained a better life (all those who thought it necessary to bow to the yoke of orthodox dogmas). The sun and moon, the visible sun and moon, at any rate, did not come to a halt. Of course not. But the spiritual sun, not once, but always, stood in brightness before his heaven-traversing mind ; yes, and the fairest beauty of secular wisdom, like the shining light of the moon, established him as victor over the enemies of God.

When Gregory had destroyed these, he parceled out the land that was left by them — I mean the church. He parceled out no transient or readily changing inheritance but rather one that was permanent and advanced toward the future age, not one that was merely of this world and visible to the eye. And by means of this inheritance he mounts to the free Jerusalem above, that is, the assembly of the first-born ; he does not go alone, but he assigns the imperishable allotments also to his followers in proportion to their labors.

25. *Praise of Gregory's Virtues and Achievements*

The Holy Scriptures have borne witness that the Promised Land overflows with milk and honey. Gregory's honey was the sweetness of theology, his milk, the doctrine which flows forever ; or rather, his honey was the love of labor in pursuit of virtue, the fruit of which labor he bore in abundance, like a hard-working bee, for the husbandman of souls, while his milk was the most unstinting and nourishing flow of words. For with these he governed the Church in a very good and god-like way. At these he labored both before and after his enthronement. For he did not regard his bishop's office as a rest from toil but as a source of added anxiety and intensified concern and excessive troubles. He knew only one spiritual pleasure, the progress of his disciples in orthodoxy, and one bodily refreshment, retirement

to the more deserted countryside and self-meditation and watching over his thoughts, by means of which his mind was elevated to the highest contemplation and was comforted by the comfort of the Comforter alone. Other spiritual joys and bodily refreshments he rejected and left to the more materialistic.

Although every human soul is enticed by and takes pride in three things, I mean fame and wealth and pleasure, yet Gregory's heart was not conceited and he did not rejoice in the arrogance of vain glory, nor was his soul puffed up and so he was not enticed by the love of the possession of money (how could he be? since from his earliest youth he had completely mortified the desire for such things), nor, as with most men, was he overpowered by the varied delights of the stomach. Rather, having shaken off the sensuality and vacillation that comes with idleness and easy living, he gave himself up to an ascetic love of work and perspiring to attain virtue to such an extent that those words of David are more suitably spoken of him than anyone, namely, that by the words of God's lips he kept himself from the paths of the destroyer.

Different people who have excelled in a particular virtue or who have enjoyed the happy possession of a particular divine grace soon choose, perhaps, only to benefit thereby their own generation. For Gregory, however, his task and goal was to imitate God by embracing with divine grace not only his own but also all successive generations together. Through the holy teachings that flowed like a river from his tongue Gregory did not cease doing good to those who sought his aid, refuting, censuring, comforting, instructing, reconciling them to orthodox dogma, being eager to rouse all by his words of truth and kindness both to contemplation and to action. On the other hand, through his holy writings he edifies subsequent generations, confirming thereby those who are confused, strengthening the faithful, blocking every mouth from insolently speaking injustice against God now and in the future. Gregory's concern for preciseness and truth as well as for beauty and forcefulness and clarity and dignity was such that, although many people from every period of history have often composed speeches or even expounded theologies, yet to the degree that stars are surpassed in brightness by the sun, to that degree all are surpassed by the divine utterance and strength of his speeches.

26. *Praise of Gregory's Writings*

I will discuss these speeches as best I can. Whenever I read Gregory's invective speeches, in which he refutes the stupidity of the Transgressor* and the superstition and emptiness of pagan worship,

* Julian the Apostate.

in which he publishes abroad their gods and demons, I envision the sword of Gideon or his three hundred trumpets and lamps, whereby he struck panic into the foreigners and drove them out of their senses and caused them to be bound up in the snares of their own words and deeds, or I envision the dagger of Barak and Jephthah, or I envision the jawbone of Samson, with which he smote and crushed the enemy by the thousands. Whenever I read Gregory's defenses of the Son and of the Spirit and the rest of his theological works, wherein he prunes away every alien teaching, not the least of which is the shameless blasphemy of Macedonius and Arius and their followers, I recall straightway the marvelous courage of David, who shot three stones at the Philistine with his sling and cut off that bold head and roused up the horn of salvation for Israel, or I recall the thunders and lightnings and violent rains from above brought on by Samuel, David's predecessor, by which he sought to educate an Israel lacking in understanding, or I recall the fire of Elias, wherewith he consumed the holocausts and the firewood, just as later on he destroyed the recklessness of two groups of fifty men with these weapons, or I recall the knife of that same man, with which he most justly slew the prophets of shame.

Whenever I read Gregory's panegyrics and those speeches treating the Incarnation of the God-man, by which he illuminates the holy festivals, comforting and bringing joy to congregations and speaking with the true voice of God, I am lifted up to heaven with Elias and mounting upon Gregory's fiery words as upon a flaming chariot I am raised on high to the Lord ; and I reflect upon the mantle provided Elisha by Elias, or rather, the double grace of the Spirit that accompanied it, by means of which not only were the floods of heresy pushed back but also barren souls were shown to be most fertile and those who were dead through their erroneous belief were believed to be made to live.

Whenever I deal with Gregory's eulogies of bishops and martyrs as well as his diverse exhortations to moral living, the manifold nature of his divine wisdom, and the complexity and diversity of his poems and essays (in metrical and prose forms), I then see the depth of Solomon's understanding. Or rather, we can say that we see even more than a Solomon. For when Solomon asked for and received wisdom and understanding of existing things, it is attested that he so came to understand the nature of the elements, the generation of animals, the species of plants, and the energies and powers of all things that are or come into being that no man before or after him would arise who was comparable to him. As for Gregory, while he was in no way, or only slightly, inferior to Solomon with respect to human wisdom and availed himself of that wisdom as a kind of propaedeutic for divine wisdom, with respect to the latter he surpassed Solomon to the same extent that Solomon was more famous than the rest of men. Solomon, in pursuing the contemplation of things that have come into existence, lavished his mind's discernment upon it ;

but Gregory, after journeying by means of these to the transcendant knowledge of the incomprehensible and laying hold of the most mysterious incomprehensibility, caused his contemplative gaze to rest there.

Solomon, who had learned the diversity and divisibility of nature, is said to have displayed the abundance of his understanding in numerous books. As for Gregory, he had a supernatural comprehension of the unity and the trinity of the divine nature, and by the power of most fair speech and the illuminating grace of the Godhead he set forth a lofty theology for all generations together. Because Solomon's heart was puffed up by secular polymathy and wisdom and because he proved to be overcome by a wordly purpose, he was, alas, far removed from the spiritual, being culpable, to put it mildly, by reason of what he had chosen. On the other hand, inasmuch as Gregory was lead by the law of the Spirit, even though he encountered the sea of secular wisdom, he nevertheless sailed through it easily and swiftly, making his way with the help of God's Spirit and by means of the Spirit's guidance towards the heavenly harbor of supernatural wisdom ; and he swam out beyond the swell of the waves of the body's passions and made his own soul's voyage secure by a most safe conclusion.

27. *Bishops Assemble at Constantinople : Gregory Renounces Episcopal Throne*

Now there came a time when Gregory saw that all the prescribed activity of his office had reached an end that was fortunate and worthy of his zeal and expectation : all the rabble-rousing and strife and lawlessness and legal disputes spawned by the tongues of the Anomoeans had been dissipated, and in their stead all the holy congregation of the orthodox had been established in the holy churches and had advanced in virtue and in faith to such an extent that the holiness of the Lord could be seen to be flourishing completely among them. At this point the leading bishops, who had been expected, made their appearance. They made their appearance, not as restorers of congregations that had lapsed (for these had already been sustained by the sweat of their bishop's labors), but as ratifiers of Gregory's activities, not as solidifiers of a faith that was being shaken (Gregory himself had confirmed it by his adamantine words and works), but as men setting the seal of approval on Gregory's theology ; and, though they did not at that time grant the glory of consubstantiality to the Spirit, they all did vote their agreement with Gregory's divine utterances.

In fact, the very grace that had formerly been granted to the great Son of Thunder, namely, to make manifest the glory of the Only Begotten and to proclaim God himself with more boldness than the other evangelists (on account of which he has fittingly been called « theologian »), this very grace has also been given at a later time to

the subject of our present eulogy by reason of his proclamation of the Paraclete. For when some were divorcing the Paraclete altogether from the Godhead and others, though accepting His divinity, were still unable to affirm openly that He was God and instead were accommodating themselves either to their own cowardice or to the mind of those of unsound belief, it was Gregory alone and first before any one else who clearly and most boldly proclaimed the Spirit to be God, equal to the Father and the Word. Because of this he has won as a most suitable reward for his boldness of speech the title « theologian », which befits his superiority to all others, gaining this name as a prize more precious than limitless treasures of gold or all precious stones.

Accordingly, these holy bishops and the whole city were ascribing the Church's victory to Gregory's struggles and labors and speeches, and they were crediting responsibility for the change for the better to him, and they were thinking to confer upon him the exalted throne as a worthy prize. But Gregory himself shunned the oppressive mass of ecclesiastical troubles, avoiding the controversies raised by some about his enthronement and thereby looking out for the tranquility of the churches. He rejected the constant obsequiousness of those who were his subjects. For the majority of men are wont to prefer to lead towards their own ends those that have gained the episcopacy rather than to follow the wishes of the bishops, and they think it right to wish to have the bishops in their pocket as opposed to being commanded by them in accord with orthodox law. Yet Gregory did allow himself to please everyone in order, as the Apostle says, to win over all as far as possible. He rejected and despised extravagance as deserving the imputation of crowdpleasing ; he longed for philosophy and the contemplative life, which had been dear and familiar to him from his earliest days ; he perceived that the unenvied and unchangeable seat above was his one throne and that mounting that seat was his recompense for sufferings endured here below. Therefore Gregory had little esteem for honor offered him by men and yielded the contested grandeur of episcopal thrones to him who wanted it. And having bade farewell to the Church and its rulers and having escaped the troubles of political life, he took up residence for a while in his earthly fatherland.

28. *Gregory Returns to Nazianzus and Expels the Apollinarians : Becomes a Hermit : Dies*

When Gregory returned to Nazianzus, he purified his country's church of the pollution of the mindless Apollinarists and entrusted it to those who shared his own belief. Then, living as a hermit in a remote area, removing himself entirely from outside distractions, he confirmed and strengthened the leaders of the churches by his letters. At the same time, in devoting himself to more lofty contemplations and a most perfect religious life, the consummation of his desires,

and using it as a guide to the unspeakable mysteries, Gregory was instructed more clearly and more perfectly in the complete and true knowledge of the symbols that represent the sacred, and he was instructed, too, in the very knowledge of the truth that is beyond all symbolic expression.

The minds of different prophets have been molded by the Spirit through different mystical experiences. Some have beheld the Invisible One seated on a high and exalted throne, while others have beheld Him riding on quadri-form living creatures; they have contemplated Him under every variety and kind of form and shape — sometimes in the form of amber, at other times in the form of fire, and at other times in a human-like form — inasmuch as He has been allotted no specific form to suit His own nature but, being the cause of all, He therefore puts on every form, voluntarily descending to the level of the beholder. Thus the prophets contemplated the unquantified and unqualified God, as it were, through riddles. However, because Gregory was instructed most clearly in the illuminations and energies of all the visions combined, which each of the prophets had seen only in part, and because he was illuminated through the highest contemplation by all the truth revealed in the gospel, and because he set the foundations of the new knowledge of the Divine upon the foundations of the old, he is revealed to be a dwelling of the entire fulness of God's wisdom. Indeed, whereas the complete fulness of the Divinity is believed to reside physically in Christ, the whole Christ is believed to have set up his abode in Gregory through the power of the Spirit.

Jonas the son of Amathi was cast into a sea monster; Daniel was put in a pit and given as food to the lions; the Three Young Men were thrown into a fiery furnace. And each of these made the place where he was put into a place of prayer: the first, the beast, the second, the pit, the third, the furnace. For they prayed that their life be lifted up from destruction; they prayed to be rescued. And most certainly they were rescued by God's will, Jonas from the sea monster, Daniel from the pit, the Three Young Men from the fiery furnace. As for Gregory, he considered his body and its evil habits to be a beast and a pit and a fiery furnace. Indeed, they are sometimes able to trouble even the most religious and perceptive mind and, to use Gregory's own words, to stand in the way of the divine rays like a cloud. And so he prayed to be released from what he considered to be shackles, and, since he desired to depart and to be with Christ, he groaned as did the great Apostle, being depressed and longing like him to be clothed with his heavenly home.

And, in truth, Gregory did obtain his prayer's desire and ended his life at a virtuous and ripe old age. Having long since transferred all his citizenship to heaven, he set forth to it. And, while he entrusted his body, since it was earth, to the earth to be covered over by his father's tomb, disposing of it beneath a single stone, he put his spirit into the hands of the one who had bestowed it and made his way to Him with a soul that was undefiled. Now, that holy vessel of election,

St. Paul, who had been filled with the most divine mind of Christ, was summoned by Him not from below but from heaven, and he was sent forth as a light unto the gentiles and a salvation unto the world. And, after preaching the salvation of God to mankind through many dangers and tribulations, after fighting the good fight according to the law, he obtained the crown of justice. In the same way, too, that perfect imitator of Paul, when he had been summoned to divine theology by the supra-celestial Trinity, preached the co-substantiality of its supra-essentiality amid numerous dangers. Likewise, too, he has fought the good fight, has finished the course of orthodoxy, which is free of pitfalls, has kept the genuine, orthodox faith, and so he is freed from the visible realm and united to the spiritual ; he takes his leave of the world and dwells in God.

As an undefiled mind he joins the company of those with minds undefiled, as a wise patriarch he joins the company of the patriarchs, as one possessed of the prophetic grace he joins the company of the prophets. Moreover, as one most apostolic in his way of life he is united to the apostles, as one most priestly and instructive he is united to the bishops and teachers, and he is united to the martyrs and the saints, rivalling the former in their witness to the Trinity and the latter in their asceticism. Being thus united to all of these by reason of his resemblance to them and therefore, perhaps, being superior to all of them, he approaches in purity the most pure Trinity itself and is deemed worthy by it of the crown of justice — or rather, in a supernatural manner he puts on the Trinity itself as an unfading crown of glory. For it was inevitable that one who had exerted himself in so many struggles on earth in its behalf should receive it in heaven as a kind of worthy crown or prize of victory, and that one who had labored hard and been humiliated on its behalf should find it a refreshment and exaltation of his labors. It was inevitable that one who had readily accepted every hardship and labor on behalf of the glory of the only-begotten Son and of the equality of honor due to the Spirit should also shine eternally with their glory.

It is written that long ago Enoch was pleasing to God and was translated in the flesh, winning that translation as a reward for his modicum of knowledge of God. It is written, too, that at a later time Elias the Tishbite was brilliantly lifted up in the flesh. For a fiery chariot and fiery horses, raising him up not to heaven, but as if to heaven, carried him off like a charioteer. As for Gregory, since, unless I exaggerate, he had shown himself pleasing to God to a greater and more marvelous degree, to the extent that a faith based on the truth is more perfect than a faith founded on shadows, he too was translated to the Lord, though he was not carried in a fiery chariot in the flesh. Even when he still resided in his body, he would fly up to heaven with his virtues for a chariot, and would be taken aloft to the Most High by his lofty contemplations, and would be taken out of himself to God by the perfection of his visions. Afterwards, in going forth from his body and, by his translation, dwelling completely with his Master,

with all the heavenly host attending and greeting him in heavenly fashion, he was most gloriously manifested to the most regal Trinity face to face.

29. *Nicetas Invokes Gregory*

But, o most deserving initiate and servant of the great and first and most divine Mind, o most eloquent herald and teacher of the living Word which is only-begotten and of the same nature as the first Mind and Father, o most spiritual servant and most clear and convincing theologian of the divine Spirit which is numbered and ranked with the Father and the Son, o you who clearly and definitively taught us to reverence the Trinity in the unity and the unity in the Trinity, this is a hymn of praise which we owe you. And if this hymn is worthy, that is indisputably your gift and a fulfillment at the end of time of your labors or prophecies. But if this hymn falls far short of your virtue, o blessed one who stand before the unapproachable Trinity singing the triple Sanctus to the Thrice Holy three times in succession, then together with the seraphim draw near to us yourself and touch our unworthy lips with your divine spirit and with the seraphic coal of fiery words. And after you have utterly washed clean our transgressions and filled us with a more perfect knowledge of the holy and made us worthy of a more divine perfection, first of all, fill our mind in a more inspired and lofty way with instruction and knowledge about the holy Trinity ; then, having made your eulogizers deserving of your marvelous virtues, translate us hence and welcome us into your undefiled and all-pure tents, in order that through you we may be filled to overflowing with a clearer and more divine glory and grace and may be deemed worthy to give fitting honor along with you to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the single Godhead and Kingdom and Power, now and forever and through eternity. Amen.